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इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति

चन्द्रलोक, जवाहर नगर

दिल्ली द्वारा

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी पुस्तकालय को  
भेंट

# THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS

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SOC-A

held under the auspices of

THE INDIAN & EASTERN NEWSPAPER SOCIETY

I. E. N. S. Buildings, Old Mill Road, New Delhi



RA 55368

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय  
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि  
न लगायें।

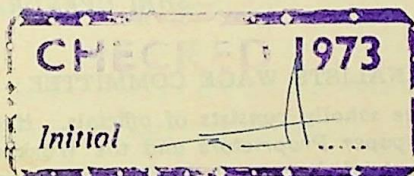


चन्द्रलोक, जवाहर नगर

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**WORKING JOURNALISTS ACT :**

*In spite of the vast resources they have, the Government have not so far extended to their employees some of the privileges, which they have sought to impose by legislation, to only one section of the employees in the newspaper industry. Have they, for instance, prescribed only six hours of work for any of their employees engaged in brain work? Are they giving Location Allowance? Are they giving gratuities for only three years of service? Do they judge the capacity to pay on the basis of gross income of any of their industries? . . . If in other industries we have targets on the pattern of industrialised countries, I fail to understand why we should think that this industry of ours is already prosperous and fit to bear statutory burdens.*

—SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR

**WAGE BOARD DECISION :**

*It is highly regrettable that despite the clear verdict of the Supreme Court, Government has made the Wage Board Decision the basis of inquiry. We hear that the Committee is to give its report in three months. This appears to me as if an attempt is being made to circumvent the Supreme Court judgment . . . Should the Wage Board Decision be resurrected in one form or the other, a large number of newspapers will certainly be forced to close down. This will be a calamity not only for publishers but for our country too.*

—SHRI UPENDRA ACHARYA

**WORKING JOURNALISTS WAGE COMMITTEE :**

*The Committee wholly consists of officials. Had the disagreement between the newspaper Proprietors and the Working Journalists been treated as an industrial dispute, it would have been referred either to an industrial court or an Industrial Tribunal, and the presiding officer would have been an independent person. Will the Government pay heed to moral considerations only when they are legally compelled to do so? If they had thought of their duty to act in accordance with the high moral principles, they would have appointed an independent person as Chairman of the Committee referred to above. What is meant by an independent Chairman? No Chairman holding a preconceived view or under the influence of any particular interest, or under the control of the Government, but a person who will exercise his independent judgment in the consideration of questions placed before him.*

—PANDIT HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU



## PREFACE

A unique conference of newspaper publishers from all over India was held in Delhi on July 30 and 31, 1958. The Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society convened it in view of widespread concern throughout the industry over the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance issued on June 14 after the Supreme Court's judgment on the Wage Board's decisions. The depth of concern felt was demonstrated by the response; the most vital section of the whole industry from all States was represented. There were present representatives of large newspapers and small, English language newspapers and those published in every recognized language of the Indian Union. The main resolution, passed unanimously, declared the Ordinance objectionable, unconstitutional and unprecedented.

The Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society, with the object of bringing to the attention of members of Parliament, other representatives of public opinion and all concerned in the industry's welfare, have published in this booklet principal speeches and resolutions. The Society regards it as indispensable that anyone who wishes to be fully acquainted with the problems facing the industry arising from this Ordinance should study the material provided.

On March 20, 1958, the I.E.N.S. published a pamphlet entitled **THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY**. This is available from the Society's office in Old Mill Road.

New Delhi,  
August 10, 1958









## RESOLUTIONS

1. The Conference, representing the newspaper publishers of India, while fully sympathising with working journalists as well as other sections of newspaper establishment, records its protest against the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance as in its view the attitude adopted by the Government is bound to harm the newspaper industry. It expresses its view on the Ordinance in the following terms :—

- (a) The Ordinance is objectionable, unconstitutional and unprecedented inasmuch as it seeks to vary the judicial procedure for determination of wages in the case of the newspaper industry in a manner which is not in consonance with the accepted procedure of wage determination. The Conference wishes to bring to the notice of the Government that in all industrial disputes and legislation it is under an obligation to be fair to both parties.
- (b) It was unjust on the part of the Government to direct the Committee appointed under the Ordinance to regard the Wage Board Decision as the basis of inquiry particularly when the Supreme Court had already declared that the Wage Board had ignored the mandatory direction contained in section 9 (1) of the Working Journalists Act.
- (c) Without the slightest reflection on the personnel of the Committee, this Conference feels that the appointment of a purely official committee is contrary to the accepted judicial procedure under the Industrial Disputes Act. The situation arising out of the Supreme Court judgment, in the opinion of the Conference, did not call for the promulgation of an Ordinance. In view of the Supreme Court findings that the Decision *inter alia*, was not based on the capacity of the newspapers to pay, it was obligatory on the part of the Government to order a *de novo* inquiry.
- (d) In the opinion of this Conference, it is not proper to determine wages of journalists on an all-India basis and that Government should have taken note of the observations of the Supreme Court that in any scheme of wage determination, regional conditions should be taken into account. The Conference brings to the notice of the Government that the Press Commission had recommended only a minimum wage leaving other matters like scales of pay to be settled by collective bargaining and negotiations on the basis of the capacity of each unit to pay and that its proposals were accepted by the Federation of Working Journalists. In the view of the Conference, the best method of settling this wage question is for Government to refer wage determination to State Governments under the Industrial Disputes Act to fix minimum wages for journalists and other workers in news-



paper establishments on a regional basis and other matters relating to scales and grades should have been left for negotiation or adjudication on the basis of the capacity of each unit to pay.

- (e) This Conference is firmly of the opinion that Government has not been fair to newspaper establishments by restricting wage inquiry only to working journalists who constitute less than 20 per cent of the number employed in newspaper establishments. Government are aware that for the successful production of a newspaper the co-operation and contentment of all categories of workers in a newspaper establishment is necessary and that any invidious discrimination made between one class and another is bound to create disharmony and strife in newspaper establishments.
- (f) Non-journalist workers in newspaper establishments are already making demands on their employers to improve their conditions of service in view of the protection and benefits given to working journalists by Government under special legislation.
- (g) This Conference urges upon Government the view that in the interest of harmony and contentment in the industry, Government should order a *de novo* inquiry at a state and regional level into the conditions of service of all categories of newspaper employees, including working journalists, bearing in mind the capacity of each unit to pay, and the overall burden implicit in such a wage structure.
- (h) Such an inquiry alone, in the opinion of the Conference, can give Government and wage determining authorities a clear picture of the capacity of each unit of the industry to pay. It is a matter for surprise to the Conference that in spite of repeated demands for such an inquiry Government should have persisted in a policy which is discriminatory in favour of only one section of workers thus setting up an unwholesome precedent in labour legislation.
- (i) This Conference notes with astonishment the statement made by the Union Labour Minister at his Press Conference immediately after the promulgation of the Ordinance wherein he stated that he expected the Committee to give its decision within three months. In view of the Supreme Court judgment declaring the Wage Board Decision null and void on account of its not being based upon the capacity of the industry to pay it is not possible, in the opinion of this Conference, for any committee to conduct a full-fledged inquiry within a period of three months.
- (j) This Conference protests that there is no provision in the Ordinance for the recommendations of the Committee to be referred to newspapers for their reactions before they are enforced. It recalls in this connection the following observation of the Supreme Court in regard to the wage structure contained in the decision of the Wage Board:—

'Newspapers had no indication at all as to the wage structure that was going to be adopted. Even though the Wage Board, as a result



of the data collected by it, came to the conclusion that a certain wage structure was a proper one, it was necessary for the Wage Board to communicate the proposals to the various newspaper establishments concerned and invite their reactions within a specified period. It was only after representations were received that the Wage Board should have finalised its proposals and published its decision. If this procedure had been adopted the decision of the Wage Board could not have been challenged on the score of its being contrary to the principles of natural justice.'

This Conference is of the view that as a result of the discriminatory legislation which Government has applied to newspaper establishments, many units of the industry are facing extinction and that in the interests of democracy in India it is necessary for Government to take steps to avoid a catastrophe before it is too late.

2. This Conference notes with regret that as a result of restrictions on imports and supplies of foreign and indigenous newsprint, newspaper establishments are finding it extremely difficult to continue normal production. The Conference is aware of the foreign exchange difficulties of the Government, but in the interest of democracy in India it is necessary that newspapers have access to adequate supplies of newsprint. The circulation of newspapers in India is not large compared with the circulation of newspapers in many advanced countries. As newspapers are performing an essential public service in developing democracy by educating the masses, the Conference appeals to Government to withdraw the present 15% cut imposed to make available newsprint according to requirements of newspaper establishments to meet the needs of the reading public. The Conference is of the opinion that in the interests of the survival of smaller units in the industry, Government should make arrangements for the supply of newsprint without restrictions.

3. This Conference notes with deep regret that Government has not taken active steps for the development of the periodicals in the country. The Conference draws attention of the Government to the fact that Postal authorities have cancelled in certain cases the postal registration facilities of periodicals in view of their inability to conform to the rigid and unrealistic interpretation of postal rules relating to the definition of 'Newspaper'. The Conference demands of Government that periodicals which have been registered with the Press Registrar as 'Newspapers' should be accorded all postal facilities in respect of registration.



## Welcome Speech by Shri Upendra Acharya, President of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you a very warm welcome on behalf of the Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society and on my own behalf. It is a matter of immense satisfaction to find that this Conference is so well attended. I thank you all, particularly publishers who have travelled long distances to come to attend this Conference.

It is for the first time that a Conference of all Newspaper Publishers in this country is being held to deliberate on the various problems affecting the industry as a whole. The problems are such that we are all affected by them in one way or the other. We are therefore meeting here to try to find out solutions to those problems.

The idea of holding this Conference originated in October last year but it was felt that the Conference might more advantageously be held after the Supreme Court verdict on the petitions challenging the validity of the Working Journalists Act and the Wage Board Decision was known. The Supreme Court has declared the Wage Board Decision *ultra vires* of the Working Journalists Act because the Wage Board did not take into consideration the capacity of newspapers to pay. Further developments have taken place since then. The Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance has been promulgated under which the Working Journalists Wage Committee has been appointed. The Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society and the Indian Languages Newspapers Association as well as individual newspaper establishments have made their representations re-iterating their objections to the Wage Board Decision which has been made the basis of enquiry under the Ordinance.

These developments call for careful consideration on our part and the Conference will no doubt direct its deliberations towards them. There are other developments also which, in the larger context of the freedom of the Press and growth of democracy, are of great importance. A suggestion has been put forward by Government for the introduction of a Newsprint Control Order on the lines of the Order which was in force during the last war. The Government's policy in regard to Press advertising has been such that it has made inroads into the revenues of newspapers by canvassing for commercial advertisements for publications owned by the Government. These matters also merit consideration. I am convinced that the cumulative effect of many of the legislative and executive actions of the Government has been definitely harmful to the newspaper industry as a whole. The newspaper industry is, in fact, facing a crisis.

And yet I may point out that the object of this Conference is not to come to a hurried decision. The Conference has to consider the situation in all its aspects and devise ways and means to save the industry from undue hardship and threatened extinction of



a number of newspapers. We have to view the problems of the newspaper industry in their proper perspective. These problems may be divided into two categories: one demanding immediate solution and the other requiring a clear-cut long term policy.

We are not meeting here in any spirit of destructive criticism. You are aware that the Parliament generally accepted the recommendations of the Press Commission and the Government have taken steps to implement a number of those recommendations. Unfortunately, however, some of the steps that the Government have taken are fundamentally different from what the Press Commission had recommended. At the instance of the Government, the Society made detailed suggestions to them from time to time as to the manner in which some of the recommendations of the Press Commission should be implemented. But it is deplorable that Government did not accept our suggestions.

The Society is opposed to governmental interference with the newspaper industry for the simple reason that it is a delicately balanced industry and, unlike other industries, comprises within its activities the freedom of expression. It is our duty to protect that freedom which is our precious possession. Nevertheless, the Society suggested to the Government that, if any legislation affecting the newspaper industry was contemplated, it should be a comprehensive measure instead of piece-meal measures. The Government did not accept even this suggestion, and as you all know, several laws have been passed. The result is that an imbalance has been created and the entire industry is in a state of turmoil.

It is not my intention to enter into an examination of all the laws affecting the newspaper industry passed during the last few years. It is, however, worthwhile to mention that the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service & Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, the Act enabling the Government to enforce Price-page Schedule, the promulgation of the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance on the one hand and the competition of the Government publications in the field of advertising and restrictions put on certain class of advertisers to curtail their advertising budgets have put the newspaper publishers in a very difficult financial position. On top of all these things the suggestion to introduce Newsprint Control Order on the lines on which the same was imposed during the last war is bound to put newspaper economy out of gear. In the light of all these handicaps the Society made definite suggestions, namely:—

- (i) Having regard to the findings of the Supreme Court, it would be most advisable to secure a settlement of the question of wages for journalists on the basis of state-wise enquiry in which all parties would be adequately represented, including every newspaper establishment;
- (ii) Such an enquiry would help to fix a minimum wage only, leaving the question of fixation of pay scales to be decided by negotiations on an individual unit basis; and
- (iii) In the light of the findings of the Supreme Court and unsatisfactory



finances of the newspaper industry, it would not be practicable to fix an all-India wage structure.

Instead of accepting these suggestions the Government promulgated the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance, making the Wage Board Decision the basis of enquiry by the Committee appointed under the Ordinance.

It is highly regrettable that despite the clear verdict of the Supreme Court, Government has made the Wage Board Decision the basis of enquiry. We hear that the Committee is to give its report in three months. This appears to me as if an attempt is being made to circumvent the Supreme Court judgment. I would, therefore, appeal to you, the publishers of dailies, weeklies and periodicals, to be prepared for all eventualities to save your institutions from undue hardship and possible extinction.

While forces against us may be strong, we should not also underestimate our own capacity to resist any onslaught that might come. Should the Wage Board Decision be resurrected in one form or the other, a large number of newspapers will certainly be forced to close down. This will be a calamity not only for publishers but for our country too.

We have no animosity against any one. Working Journalists are a part of us. They are our own people and to harm them in any way will amount to harming ourselves. At the same time, the working journalists have to realise that newspapers must continue to exist if their demands are to be fulfilled. They ought to take a realistic view of the whole situation and appreciate the value of friendly approach.

I have tried to draw your attention to only a few basic questions. I have no doubt that the Conference will consider the entire range of problems and come to definite conclusions.

We derive strength from the fact that the Indian Languages Newspapers Association have fully agreed with us on these vital issues and co-operated wholeheartedly in the efforts the Society has been making for safeguarding the interests of all newspapers.

I am grateful to Shri R.R. Diwakar, Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, a former Minister of Information & Broadcasting and ex-Governor of Bihar, for his having kindly agreed to guide our deliberations. He has been associated with the newspaper industry for over a period of thirty years and is fully conversant with our problems. We are fortunate also in having a man of the eminence of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru to inaugurate the Conference. Pandit Kunzru has been intimately connected with the Press and has been taking a keen interest in its growth and development. I am sure that their guidance will be of considerable value to the Conference.



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चंद्रकोट, जयपुर  
दिल्ली द्वारा

## Inaugural Speech by Pandit Hriday Nath Kanungo

It is well-known that in a democracy newspapers occupy a position of vital importance. Free expression of public opinion and free circulation of news constitute the life-breath of democracy. If the right of free expression were taken away, I venture to say that democracy would be almost indistinguishable from totalitarianism. It is almost a corollary of free circulation of news that opportunities and increasing facilities for the supply of information to the public should be increased from time to time.

The Press has played a valuable part in our national struggle for freedom. It has still a great part to play in our national development. It has to watch over the rights of the people and strengthen the foundations of democracy. This being the function of the Press, it is obvious that everybody interested in democracy should take a keen interest, in fact the keenest interest, in matters affecting the independence and freedom of the Press and unhindered circulation of news to the public. Any step that is taken, even with the best of motives, the effect of which is to hinder the development of the Press, cannot be welcomed by public-spirited men in the country.

It is from this point of view that we have considered all the measures affecting the Press in the past. Whether it was legislation affecting the Press or the report of the Press Commission, the discussions on these questions have been followed with the keenest interest. We would have been wanting in a proper appreciation of the foundations of democracy if we had failed to attach that importance to the problems affecting the Press which in view of their national importance they deserved. We have, therefore, good reasons to consider the action taken by the Government of India recently in regard to the fixation of wage scales for journalists. I shall have something to say about the recommendations of the Wage Board later. The Committee appointed by the Government of India under the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance issued on June 14 was asked to consider the question with the recommendations of the Wage Board as the starting point.

Before I refer to these bodies I must say that no one can have a word of criticism to say about the demands of the Working Journalists for an improvement of their salaries and prospects. The demand in my opinion is perfectly justified. We regard the Press as an agency deeply concerned with the welfare of the nation.

It is, therefore, obvious that we must give due place to the position that Working Journalists occupy in a newspaper concern. They have made such efforts as they could hitherto and are bound to make further efforts to bring about an improvement in their conditions of service. They would be less than human, and we would be failing in our duty, if they did not draw our attention and we did not attach to them the importance they deserve. We have, however, to consider the recommendations of the Wage Board and see whether they fulfil the criteria laid down above. The Wage



Board, as you know, was appointed under the Working Journalists Act to fix wages and wage scales for Working Journalists. I do not want to consider these recommendations in any detail. I only want to draw your attention to the basis of the Board's Decisions.

I shall first draw your attention to the views expressed by the Supreme Court in its judgment. The first question is whether the Wage Board satisfied the provisions of Section 9 of the Working Journalists Act, before it laid down conditions of service relating to Working Journalists. The Supreme Court has said that the Board was groping in the dark and that it had not sufficient data to enable it to come to proper conclusions regarding the wage structure. In fact the Supreme Court draws attention to the fact that the Chairman of the Board himself said that it was not possible for the Board with the limited information at its disposal to come to any firm conclusions. The Supreme Court has virtually said that the Wage Board Decisions were arbitrary and not based on facts relating to the Press as a whole. In support of its argument the Supreme Court has drawn attention to the observations of the Press Commission. Quoting from the Commission's Report it says that out of 127 newspapers which supplied information as many as 68 were running at a loss. Obviously, therefore, the recommendations of the Wage Board could not reasonably cover the industry as a whole. Also the Supreme Court has said that the information which the Board had did not justify it even in fixing wage scales according to regions. If according to the Supreme Court the Board was not in a position to determine the wages for journalists even according to regions then with what show of reason could the Government have asked the Committee appointed by it to take the decisions of the Wage Board as its starting point?

Government have virtually asked the Committee to take arbitrary conclusions as the basis on which it should proceed. This shows that a fresh enquiry was needed. Yet while lip homage has been paid to the judgment of the Supreme Court, it is feared that the method that has been adopted would only result in a circumvention of the Supreme Court decisions. Government should thank themselves for creating this impression.

They have appointed a Committee ostensibly for the purpose of considering the question in the light of the Supreme Court judgment, but really to get round the judgment of the Court.

Let me consider for a moment the observations of the Chairman of the Wage Board in the Board's Report. He has himself admitted that the Board could not say what the effect of its recommendations on every newspaper would be. The Chairman was aware that the recommendations might hit hard some of the newspapers, including some which were established a long time ago and occupied an important position in the country. He, therefore, expressed the pious hope that no newspaper would have to go out of existence as a result of the Board's recommendations. He added, that if any newspaper that deserved to live was in danger of being wiped out, he had no doubt that the Government and the public would come to its help. But how can Government help all losing concerns?

If the Chairman had in mind the grant of subsidies to concerns which could not maintain their existence because of the recommendations of the Wage Board,



then I have no hesitation in saying that neither he nor the Board recognised the key position that the Press occupied in the country. They did not understand the vital importance of the freedom of the Press. Can help given by the Government strengthen its independence or reduce it to a position of subservience? When the Board appointed to consider the question of wages in the coal industry had recommended an enhancement of the wages of the coal miners, the impact of the decision on the coal industry was so burdensome that the coal prices were increased by Government by Rs. 3 per ton. Again, did the Chairman mean that the Government would come to the help of the losing newspapers either by legislative measures or in some other way, or advertisers, both official and non-official, agree to the enhancement of subscriptions and advertisement rates? If he entertained such hopes then we can say that his hopes were obviously chimerical.

The Chairman claimed that the Wage Board acted in accordance with the principles laid down by the Press Commission. This is a question of fact. In view of the remarks of the Chairman, I tried to find out what the Press Commission had stated. I found to my amazement that the Commission said nothing to justify either the procedure or the decision of the Wage Board. The Commission said in para 538 "the Federation of Working Journalists also agreed, when it was put to them, that apart from suggesting a minimum wage it would not be possible for the Commission to undertake standardisation of designations or to fix scales of pay or other conditions of service for the different categories of employees for different papers in different regions. They have stated that these details must be left to be settled by collective bargaining or where an agreement is not possible the dispute could be settled by reference to an industrial court or an adjudicator with the assistance of a Wage Board, if necessary."

There is no resemblance between this and what the Chairman has said later in his Note appended by him to the Wage Board's report. Now let me come to the composition of the Committee.

The Committee wholly consists of officials. Had the disagreement between the newspaper Proprietors and the Working Journalists been treated as an industrial dispute, it would have been referred either to an industrial court or an Industrial Tribunal, and the presiding officer would have been an independent person. Will the Government pay heed to moral considerations only when they are legally compelled to do so? If they had thought of their duty to act in accordance with the high moral principles, they would have appointed an independent person as Chairman of the Committee referred to above. What is meant by an independent Chairman? No Chairman holding a preconceived view or under the influence of any particular interest, or under the control of the Government, but a person who will exercise his independent judgment in the consideration of questions placed before him. I should not for a moment like to impugn the honesty of the members of the Committee. I have no doubt that they are honourable. But in order that a Committee should create confidence in the public, it should be constituted of men who are independent, and who are not controlled by any interests. Can we



say in this case that either the Chairman or other members of the Committee are people who are not controlled by others? Explaining the provisions of the Ordinance, Shri G. L. Nanda pointed out that the matter had been taken out of the hands of the interests concerned. He said that it would be for the Government to decide what the wage structure in future should be. They have adopted such an extraordinary procedure, that they had to pass an ordinance. For, under the Working Journalists Act, such a Committee could not be appointed. Was it not at least prudent to see that the men appointed to the Committee were independent men? Is it the Government's position that when two interests do not agree the Government should take the matter in their own hands?

In the dispute between Scheduled Banks and their employees, the Government did not agree with the judgment of the Labour Appellate Tribunal and therefore modified it. But the employees of the Scheduled Banks numbering about 65,000 refused to accept Government's point of view. Government was then forced to appoint a judicial officer of high standing to conduct a fresh enquiry into the matter. This led to the appointment of Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar whose report was finally accepted.

The Supreme Court has referred to very important points in its judgment. It has referred to facts which should have been taken into account by the Wage Board before coming to a decision. It says that the Board should have considered the inevitable impact of its decision on the other classes of employees. I understand these non-journalists constitute four-fifths of the employees working in the newspaper industry. Is it possible for the Official Committee to come to any conclusion without considering the question of an increase in the wages and wage scales of those press workers who do not belong to the category of Working Journalists?

Again it must be remembered that Shri Nanda expressed the hope that the Committee would submit its report in three months. One month was given to newspapers to submit their representations. The Committee will have thus only two months to consider the entire question. The Wage Board, however unsound the basis of its decisions might have been, took a year to submit its report. Is it humanly possible for the Official Committee to consider these larger questions within two months and arrive at reasoned conclusions? This unfortunately further lends strength to the fear that the Committee instead of giving effect to the judgment of the Supreme Court may go completely against the substance of its judgment. If there is any further litigation, I do not know what would happen. It is clear, not only from the composition of the Committee, but from every point of view that the Committee appointed by the Government is an unsatisfactory agency for considering important questions as to the position of newspaper staff and connected questions of the future of the Press. The question of increase of wages of Working Journalists cannot be considered except in relation to the capacity of the newspapers to pay, as the Supreme Court has pointed out. I personally think that the Committee that has been appointed and the procedure adopted by the Government is highly unsatisfactory.



Now let me come to the question as to what you should do? I shall refer to the observations made by Mr. R. Venkatraman, Minister of Labour in Madras who was a member of the Wage Board as a representative of Working Journalists and who has represented India at International Labour Conference. While inaugurating the Twentieth Conference of Tirunelveli Journalists Association on April 25, Mr. Venkatraman said: "As far as Madras is concerned I am not going to constitute any wage board to determine the various problems facing the journalists. I advise you not to press for a wage board. It is my considered opinion that wage boards are not suitable to countries like ours. It is better to settle disputes between employers and employees among themselves." This means that there is only one way in which a satisfactory solution can be arrived at, and that is to fix minimum wages for Working Journalists. This principle has been agreed to by the Federation of Working Journalist before the Press Commission. It is true that the Working Journalists went beyond this when the Wage Board was appointed. But their demands were human and natural. Left to themselves, however, they agreed when their representatives met the Press Commission that justice would be done to them if minimum wages were fixed, and other questions were left to be settled under the Industrial Disputes Act. The other questions relating to the rest of the staff would not arise then because labour tribunals have based their decisions on the capacity of the employer to pay. The Chairman had said that no harm would be done if certain newspapers closed down. I leave it to your judgment as to whether, if some newspapers running at a loss close down, great harm will be done to the public or not.

I hope my suggestion will be acceptable to Working Journalists. I speak not as their critic but as their friend. With the conditions under which some of the journalists have to carry on their duty, I am well acquainted. I have no hesitation in saying that they have not received a fair deal. This does not, however, mean that any method recommended by the Wage Board or the present Committee should be accepted by independent men who are influenced not by this or that interest but broad consideration of what is good for the newspaper industry and the country.

I hope that the Government will still be reasonable and consider the justice of the matter, look at the question with a fresh mind and decide to follow a procedure which will increase the strength of the newspaper industry, and lead to contentment and harmonious working between proprietors and workers.



## Presidential Speech by Shri R. R. Diwakar

It was very kind of you to have chosen me as the president of this conference. I can definitely say that you have been very wise in requesting Dr. Kunzru to inaugurate this conference. But I have doubts as to whether you have been equally wise in asking me to preside. I have been no doubt in the journalistic line for the last thirty-seven years. But mine is not certainly a big name in any way in this field.

I entered journalism when it was a mission and when it was necessary for me not only to be an editor, but in order to be an editor, I had to be a compositor, a printer, a publisher, manager, advertisement canvasser, bill-collector and what not. I have been a 'proprietor' of a newspaper publishing concern, only in a 'legal' sense, since I am the Sole Trustee of the Lok Shikshana Trust, Hubli, for the last twenty-three years, but without any personal financial interest in it. It is a charitable Trust that I am running, the sole purpose of which is the general education of the public through publications and the public is the only beneficiary under the Trust.

Thus sometimes directly and at times indirectly I have been closely associated with the 'Fourth Estate' in the land and have gone through the vicissitudes it has been subjected to at various times during these years. But since the newspapers with which I am concerned are published in the regional language and in a moffusil town, my direct experiences are those of such newspapers. I must say here that some of the problems we have to face in the moffusil are different from those faced by papers in metropolitan cities. We have far more handicaps and far less advertisement revenue. But I need not go into those details here.

I know that the immediate necessity to call this conference has arisen on account of the Wage Board Award and its sequel. But to deal only with that problem is to lose the perspective and to try to tackle it without its context. I would, therefore, call your attention and the attention of the whole nation towards the plight of the newspaper industry and all who are directly concerned with it, including the working journalists. I do not think that it would be right to look upon this conference as a mere platform for agitation by the publishers alone. The difficulties and the sufferings of the publishers are sure to affect every one in the industry and the country, unless one is shortsighted enough to think that temporary and adventitious advantages gained by some are the best of the bargain.

Before freedom, the nationalist press in India, which constituted the bulk of the newspapers, was concerned most with freedom of expression in its fight against the foreign rulers. The press had other difficulties too but we concentrated our attention on the problem mentioned above. After freedom our objective has been to play an



honourable part in the biggest ever democracy that has been established in this land.

One need not repeat that for its efficient functioning, democracy requires a free press, a vigorous press, a healthy press, an expanding press, and above all a cheap press. It is the concern of the whole nation to see that the press of the country advances at a rapid pace in every way. I do not wish to find fault with anybody but what are the objective conditions of the press today in India? How poor is the advance that has been made? What plans, five-year or other, have we for expanding it? Even the book industry is suffering on account of a number of removable handicaps. But that is not my concern here today. Possibly the Press Commission had a splendid opportunity to propose a big plan.

But unfortunately it seems to have taken a static view of an essentially dynamic activity. While the recommendations made for supporting the industry are still in cold storage, those which are calculated to throw heavy burdens on the industry are being implemented in hot-haste and with retrospective effect. Even the highest in authority seem to say that their hands are tied. A fresh outlook, therefore, seems to be necessary. We have not only to recognise but realise that any curb direct or indirect on the freedom and expansion of the press is bound to recoil on democracy and all that it means. Labour legislation is good and necessary but it ought to take a total and integral view of the industry as a whole and of all its constituents instead of giving preferential treatment to a section. Such a handling of the subject brings about disturbance instead of balance in the industry.

We all know that today the press is the one most effective medium which conveys information, instruction, and education to the furthestmost village audiences and all these in their own languages. The Radio has no doubt expanded very much recently but few can afford to use it. Moreover, the Government has the monopoly of it. The film has yet to be used on a big scale for some of the purposes for which the press is used today. People still think that entertainment is the primary object of both Radio and the film, while the press is never looked upon as a medium of entertainment but is always looked upon as a medium of information and so on. When this is the situation, it may be considered if it should not be the primary concern of a plan-minded democratic government to see that the press expands at a more rapid pace and that all impediments in its way are removed.

Apart from the press being a medium for reaching the literate citizens of this Great Republic in the remotest corners of India, it is to-day as much a medium of education. We are making a mistake if we think that education is and can be given only through schools and only to persons of school or college-going age. Gandhiji often said, education never stops till death. The bulk of the nation is learning not in schools but outside them and the press is today the most powerful and widespread medium for such general education as is necessary for our citizens.

If we once admit the importance of the press and its many functions which are necessary for the efficient conduct of democratic governments and other democratic



institutions in the country, we realise that much has yet to be planned and done for developing it as an effective medium. For instance, to-day no University in India has thought it necessary to institute a degree course for journalism. There are two or three Universities out of about forty who have only diploma courses. In this matter I would really wish the newspaper publishers to take the initiative and make efforts to start an Institute of Journalism which can coach students in that great art. The next most important thing is newsprint, the raw material which is responsible for about forty percent of the cost of production. No attempt is being made to see that this stuff in good quantity and quality is produced in India and one has to pay other countries through the nose. The one factory that is producing in India is giving us a very small percentage of the total required but the quality is yet indifferent. The third thing is printing machinery. The fourth is inks and many other accessories for which we have to depend on foreign countries and pay heavy prices. The tortuous procedure of getting licenses is a story by itself. Transport is one of the greatest hurdles and the postal, railway and air-freight charges are heavy even when concessions are taken into consideration.

I cannot resist the temptation of mentioning here another very important aid that is necessary for the progress of the press in India. That is the introduction of teleprinter services both in Hindi and in the respective languages. The main handicap as between English newspapers and the language papers is that every news item has to be translated in a hurry and rushed to print in the other languages. Teleprinter news services in the Hindi language would greatly facilitate translation into Indian languages as the structure, syntax, vocabulary of Hindi are nearer to Indian languages than English. Of course, services in each language would be ideal.

It is really a matter for patient investigation and still more patient research if one were to see that this great medium of information and education is helped in the proper way to succeed in its objective. To look upon it as any other industry and to deal with it in an *ad hoc* manner is certainly not the way to allow it to rise to its full stature.

It would not be out of place here for me to mention that sufficient care should be taken by legislators to see that no provision of law acts or is in effect, directly or indirectly, a curb on the freedom of expression. It should not be left to the press each time to go to Court and prove that a certain provision is a curb. If sufficient attention is paid to this aspect at the stage of drafting bills in connection with the press, it will be helpful for the development of the press in our country. Any rule or legislation, for instance, which comes in the way of normal circulation directly or indirectly, can be argued to be a curb on freedom of expression. If one is free to express but is forced to sell his publication for a particular price by law, then it is a curb on freedom of expression since it is not allowed to circulate freely. However much such curbs may be justifiable during war times or near war times, that they do act as curbs cannot be denied. In normal times, such curbs can be said to be unbearable and against the fundamental law of the land.

The appointment of the Press Commission was indeed a right step and a bright spot, though as I have remarked before, a Commission with a vision of the growing



needs of a democracy may have been able to draw up a programme of regular expansion of a healthy and a vigorous press competent in every way to deliver the goods.

The Press Commission, however, could not offer a bright picture of the newspaper industry at all. While it is true that a few newspapers are in affluent circumstances, the fact remains that most of the other papers, especially in the mofussil, are struggling hard. Here below is an extract which speaks for itself:—

'The picture as a whole does not reveal tempting prospects for the future investor looking only for safe and regular returns on his capital. The fact that such large investments have flowed into the industry in spite of this poor return may be attributed partly to the enthusiastic spirit of certain missionary workers who collected the necessary capital for the industry in the early days, and in greater part to the fact that a considerable proportion of the investments would have come from the profits earned in the industry itself specially during the war years when this industry enjoyed a boom. There is also the advent of a certain amount of fresh capital from persons anxious to wield influence in public affairs. The fact, however, would still remain that as an investment a new newspaper undertaking does not look very tempting.'

(Press Commission Report, Page 44, Para 123).

Since the Commission was fully aware that the industry as a whole was not in a prosperous condition and that capital formation from the earnings was not yet practicable, and because the capacity to pay was very limited in most cases, they recommended only a minimum wage and left the matter of increments and scales to mutual bargaining. But that was not heeded. Here below are three extracts from the Report of the Press Commission which are quite clear on the point of the wage scales, wage structure, capacity to pay etc.:—

The Press Commission itself recommended only a minimum Wage and stated that the rest must be left for settlement by mutual agreement or by adjudication. In paragraph 508 of the Report, the Commission, inter alia, stated as follows:—

"We do not in this Report propose to go into the details of pay scales as the Commission is neither a Labour Commission nor a Court of Industrial Arbitration. The proper scales of pay for each category of employees must depend upon various circumstances, such as cost of living in different parts of the country, the duties and responsibilities of each category of employees, the capacity of various units of the industry to bear the financial burden etc. All this will require a detailed and to some extent local investigation and, according to the proposals we are making later in this chapter for the application of the Industrial Disputes Act to Working Journalists, these points will have to be gone into, if



and when necessity arises, according to the machinery set up under that Act or any other legislation that may take its place."

In paragraph 538 of the Report, it is, inter alia, stated :—

"In this connection it may be stated that the Federation of Working Journalists also agreed when it was put to them that, apart from suggesting the minimum wage, it would not be possible for the Commission to undertake standardisation of designations or to fix scales of pay or other conditions of service for the different categories of employees for different papers in different regions. They have stated that these details must be left to be settled by collective bargaining or, where an agreement is not possible, the dispute could be settled by a reference to an Industrial Court or an adjudicator with the assistance of a Wage Board, if necessary. ....

"We agree in principle that there should be uniformity as far as possible in the conditions of service in respect of Working Journalists serving in the same area or locality. But this can be achieved only by a settlement or an adjudication to which the employers and the employees collectively are parties."

Again in paragraph 539, the Commission, inter alia, stated :—

"We do not know of any case where a uniform rate has been prescribed for dearness allowance, applicable all over the country, irrespective of the economic conditions at different centres and the paying capacity of the various units. This must be a matter for mutual adjustment between the employers and the employees; and if there is no agreement, some machinery must be provided by which disputes between the parties could be resolved. ....

"With regard to the standardisation of designations and the fixation of scales of pay for different categories of employees, we must leave the matter for mutual negotiation between the employers and the employees, and provide for a suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by mutual agreement, or, if that cannot be brought about, by adjudication."

While the Press Commission has pointed out the financially weak position of the press, it has also pointed out certain practices of some employers which brought in their train great hardship to some of the working journalists. I hold no brief either for such employers or for any practices which at any time are likely to be unfair to employees. But to look upon the employers in every industry to be exploiters and the employees to be angels in distress, is not the proper approach at least for a government which is itself a large scale employer today. Both the employers and employees are human beings and they have their foibles. It is the situation in which they find themselves which is ultimately responsible and their behaviour is to be judged in that context.



In recent years the employees have become generally more conscious of their rights. There is not the same and corresponding consciousness as regards their responsibilities. This imbalance seems to be one of the features of the present phase of development in all our industries. That is why claims are made by employees irrespective of the capacity of the industry to pay and without caring to see as to where the money is to come from. That an employee must share the profits of his industry is accepted by all. But that the employee has to contribute to greater and higher production and make the industry yield more profits is not accepted at least in practice, at any rate. The Government also as an employer is faced with this problem. It is not, therefore, too much to say that when an industry like the newspaper industry, as a whole, is suffering from numerous handicaps, the Government should sympathise with its plight and come to its rescue instead of putting more burdens on it which are unreasonable and too heavy. The Government should not be misled by the prosperity of a few big newspapers or chains and place blanket burdens on all newspapers without investigating their capacity to pay. The Government should for a moment imagine themselves to be newspaper publishers and see if they can afford to bear the burdens they are imposing on others by law. In spite of the vast resources they have, the Government have not so far extended some of the privileges which they have sought to impose by legislation, to only one section of the employees in the newspaper industry. Have they, for instance, prescribed only six hours of work for any of their employees engaged in brain work? Are they giving location allowances? Are they giving gratuities for only three years of service? Do they judge the capacity to pay on the basis of gross income of any of their industries?

We do not however grudge any concessions or privileges to any of the employees in this industry, if only the industry could afford to give such concessions to all in the same establishment.

Before saying a few words about the Wage Board Award and the recent Ordinance, which is the immediate reason for holding this conference, I would like to plead for a fresh and more sympathetic approach towards the newspaper industry in this country. It is still in an infant stage when compared with advanced countries. We should not be misled by a few prosperous papers here and there. The highest circulation of a paper in our country, say a lac, is nothing when compared with circulations of papers in Japan, for instance, where the figure reaches fifty lacs and more. The functions those newspapers perform in the respective countries are also far wider and the subjects they cover are varied and comprehensive. Even the district papers in U.S.A. command sometimes circulations of a lac. We should try to fix our targets accordingly. If in other industries we have targets on the pattern of industrialised countries, I fail to understand why we should think that this industry of ours is already prosperous and fit to bear statutory burdens.

Another important factor that has to be remembered in connection with this industry is that it has some distinctive features. Here we have to deal with information, with ideas, with emotions, with logical thoughts and the free expression of all these ; we are not dealing here with something material but with something psychological and mental. Therefore, there has to be some harmony, mutual understanding and



confidence between those who produce this stuff, unlike cloth or flour which can be tested and measured.

In cases where the Editor himself is the Proprietor this question of confidence does not arise. But where the proprietor and the editor or writer are different persons, harmony and mutual confidence are essential. This cannot be established by any legislation whatsoever. If the editor says to the proprietor you must pay me and get published what I write, that cannot happen. Similarly if the proprietor says to the editor, you must write what I tell you to write because I pay you, that also cannot happen, if the editor feels that his self-respect is at stake. Thus mutual confidence alone can ensure the smooth working between the proprietor and the editor. If that is sought to be imposed by law, it is ridiculous. Therefore, law should know its limitations and not disturb the conditions which may induce mutual confidence.

The next important thing is the freedom to express which includes freedom to circulate and propagate ideas, thoughts, feelings, and all kinds of mental stuff. The essential foundation of democracy is respect for individual freedom and freedom includes freedom to express and freedom to form associations. I have already referred to this matter above.

It should be noted that newspapers render important social service which deserves to be included in the essential services. If the supply of light and water and food are essential for our daily life, daily and even hourly news and information about happenings are as essential for modern life. We are social beings linked up with the whole of humanity. Therefore, the nation and the Government should be sufficiently aware of the importance of this industry and try to promote it, so that it may function with the greatest possible efficiency. Neither lock-outs nor strikes should be allowed to take place in this industry. Closure of a single paper, however small its circulation and in whatever corner of the country, should be our concern. The attitude that papers which cannot pay so much to the editor may die, is, to say the least, a callous attitude. If there is mutual agreement between the editor and his employer, there is no reason for anybody else to interfere. Interference is called for when there is a complaint or a grievance. Otherwise, it is not interference but disturbance.

Another important factor often ignored in connection with newspapers is the interest of the newspaper reader. Neither the Government nor those interested in adding to the cost of production of newspapers seem to take note of the fact that it is the reader for whom the paper is produced, that his buying capacity is limited, that his interests ought to be guarded, that he should be able to purchase the best paper for the least price. The consumer, in this case the reader, is the least vocal, the least represented, the least cared-for. And yet theoretically everyone declares that all that is being done is for the consumer. The newspaper industry, on account of competition, tries to sell newspapers at the cheapest possible rates. But supposing the price-page schedule or some such device is brought into operation, the common consumer suffers and has to buy a less efficient paper since his purchasing power is limited.

Coming to the Wage Board, its award, the Supreme Court decision and the recent Ordinance, I think they have been discussed threadbare both in private and



public, in the law court, and in conferences held between representatives of Government on the one hand and representatives of the working journalists and the newspaper publishers on the other. I have no intention to cover the same ground again nor do I wish to go into details and take the time of the conference. But I cannot but give expression to a few thoughts on the subject.

If one studies even casually the sequence of events from the time of the appointment of the Press Commission to the issuing of the Ordinance, the appointment of official committee under the Ordinance, its terms of reference and the information called for from newspaper establishments, one cannot resist the conclusion that neither the working journalists nor the Government seem to be willing to go to fundamentals. They think that a concession here or there can and should make the award acceptable to the newspaper publishers. If this attitude continues persistently and the Government acts accordingly, the possibility is that those few who can pay, may pay, but they will take care in future about appointments which may affect their financial position adversely. One very big establishment which has worked out the figures told me that a provision of about twenty lacs will have to be made for paying retrospectively, for payments during the year to working journalists, for providing against provident fund and gratuities and for paying corresponding increased salaries to employees other than working journalists. This establishment also wants to go in for new machinery worth about ten lacs but they are at a loss to know as to how to make provision for the same.

But what would be the plight of those who cannot pay and who would be affected adversely by the decisions of the wage board? Their fate is sealed. The Chairman of the Wage Board in his *Obiter Dicta* has expressed the view that no paper worth existing should be allowed to go out of existence by the public and the Government. But let us look at facts as they obtain. Which paper was more worth-living than 'Harijan' and which Government and which public tried to keep it alive? Even so, if papers however worthy, bargain to live on the charity of the public and on the patronage of the Government they would soon lose all the worth they have.

It may be said that it is very uncharitable to think that the working journalists and the Government will persist in their present trend. Then the only test of a departure from that trend is willingness to make a fresh approach and the dawn of a new outlook and readiness to examine the capacity to pay as well as equal eagerness to help the industry to grow by adopting at least some of the measures suggested by the Press Commission. Cheaper newsprint, wider and more equitable distribution of government advertisements, especially among the language papers, may also be suggested.

After the Supreme Court decision regarding the Award of the Wage Board, one would have normally expected that a new chapter would be opened. But the Committee appointed under the Ordinance has made the Award itself the base and the starting point. This indicates that the frame-work of the Award is calculated to be maintained. None would have reason to take objection to such a procedure if the Award had been given after a full and fair inquiry by a judicial body,



which followed a judicial procedure. The Award is a majority decision only, as regards the clauses which affect the industry most. Both the Press Commission as well as the Wage Board have admitted that they had not got enough data with them. It is obvious that the Wage Board has not taken a total view of the whole industry. The Chairman's Note reveals that for him, only three interests are concerned in the newspaper industry, namely, newspaper employers, working journalists and the reading public. In fact, the working journalists are usually only one-fifth of the personnel required for production and distribution of newspapers. It is well-known that in a modern newspaper establishment, the circulation manager and the manager of the advertisement section are more important from the point of view of developing the financial side. The Wage Board has also ignored the fact that raising of salaries and fixing of scales in one department is bound to have serious repercussions, both psychological and financial, in other departments.

I do not wish to repeat here the several serious objections that have been already brought to the notice of the Government and of the working journalists themselves. On the whole, the approach has been unscientific and *ad hoc* and without reference to the whole industry in the different states and language regions. The capacity to pay of a fluctuating industry, fifty per cent establishments of which are making losses, has not been thoroughly investigated. The cart has been put before the horse by starting with burdening the industry before any step is taken to support and encourage it.

I am myself as much a working journalist as technically 'a proprietor', without any personal profit motive. But I love this industry and I wish it to prosper. I have great regard for working journalists and I wish them well. I know the Government and its good intentions and have every hope that those intentions would be implemented if a fresh outlook is brought to bear on the subject. What is necessary is to look upon the industry as a whole and to give priority to its development in a planned manner. The newspaper industry is based on the co-operation of five constituents: the proprietor, the writer, the printer, the circulation and advertisement manager and the distributor. The full co-operation of these constituents alone is capable of taking the newspaper to the doors of the reader and claim the price for it. Unless this wheel turns full circle nothing comes out of it.

I have done. I repeat that the thoughts that I have expressed are in the interests of the whole industry and all those who are concerned with it. If I have paid more attention to the Wage Board Award, it is because it is topical. If I have criticised any one, it is because of the policies followed, which I think are against the interests of the industry. But I hope that this conference would discuss matters thoroughly and would take such steps as might ultimately solve the many problems facing this young industry in India.



## प० इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति स्मृति संग्रह

### APPENDIX I

#### Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance

1. (i) This Ordinance may be called the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance, 1958.
- (ii) It shall come into force at once.
2. In this Ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires,—
  - (a) “Committee” means the Committee constituted under section 3;
  - (b) “prescribed” means prescribed by rules made under this Ordinance;
  - (c) “Wage Board” means the Wage Board constituted under the Working Journalists Act by notification No. SRO. 1075 of the Government of India in the Ministry of Labour, dated the 2nd May, 1956;
  - (d) “Wage Board decision” means the decisions of the Wage Board published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, Sec. 3, dated the 11th May, 1957;
  - (e) “Working Journalists Act” means the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1955;
  - (f) “Wages” means wages as defined in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.
3. (i) For the purpose of enabling the Central Government to fix rates of wages in respect of working journalists in the light of the judgment of the Supreme Court dated the 19th March 1958, relating to the Wage Board decision and in the light of all other relevant circumstances, the Central Government shall, as soon as may be, after the commencement of this Ordinance by notification in the Official Gazette, constitute a Committee consisting of the following persons, namely :—
  - (i) an officer of the Ministry of Law not below the rank of Joint Secretary, nominated by the Central Government, who shall be the Chairman of the Committee,
  - (ii) three persons nominated by the Central Government from among the officers of each of the Ministries of Home Affairs, Labour and Employment and Information and Broadcasting,
  - (iii) a chartered accountant nominated by the Central Government.



- (2) The Central Government may appoint a Secretary to the Committee for the performance of such functions as the Committee, or the Chairman thereof, may assign to him and may also provide the Committee with such other staff as may be necessary.
4. (1) The Committee shall, by notice to be published in such manner, as it thinks fit, call upon newspaper establishments and working journalists and other persons interested in the Wage Board decision to make such representations as they may think fit, as respects the Wage Board decision and the rates of wages which may be fixed under this Ordinance in respect of working journalists.
- (2) Every such representation shall be in writing and shall be made within such period not exceeding thirty days, as the Committee may specify in the notice, and shall state:—
- (a) the specific grounds of objection, if any, to the Wage Board decision,
  - (b) the rates of wages which, in the opinion of the person making the representation, would be reasonable having regard to the capacity of the employer to pay the same or to any other circumstances, whichever may seem relevant to the person making the representation in relation to his representation,
  - (c) the alterations or modifications, if any, which, in the opinion of the person making the representation, should be made in the Wage Board decision and the reasons therefor.
- (3) The Committee shall take into account the representations aforesaid, if any, and after examining the materials placed before the Wage Board and such further materials as have since been made available to it under this Ordinance, make such recommendations, as it thinks fit, to the Central Government for the fixation of rates of wages in respect of working journalists, whether by way of modification or otherwise, of the Wage Board decision ; and any such recommendation may specify whether prospectively or retrospectively the date from which the rates of wages should take effect.
- (4) In making any recommendations to the Central Government, the Committee shall have regard to all the matters set out in sub-section (1) of Section 9 of the Working Journalists Act.
- (5) The Committee may, if it thinks fit, take up for consideration separately groups or classes of newspaper establishments, whether on the basis of regional classification or on any other basis, and make recommendations from time to time in regard to each such group or class.
5. (1) Subject to the provisions contained in sub-section (2), the Committee may exercise all or any of the powers which an industrial tribunal, constituted under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, exercises for the



purposes of adjudicating an industrial dispute referred to it and shall, subject to the provisions contained in this Act and the rules, if any, made there-under, have power to regulate its own procedure.

- (2) Any representations made to the Committee and any documents furnished to it by way of evidence, shall be open to inspection on payment of such fee as may be prescribed, by any person interested in the matter.
  - (3) If in the course of any inquiry it appears to the Committee that it is necessary to examine any accounts or documents or obtain any statements from any person, the Committee may authorise any officer of the Central Government (hereinafter referred to as "the authorised officer") in that behalf; and the authorised officer shall, subject to the directions of the Committee, if any, examine the accounts or documents or obtain the statements from the person.
  - (4) The authorised officer may, subject to the directions of the Committee, if any, exercise all or any of the powers which an industrial tribunal may exercise under sub-section (2) or sub-section (3) of section 11 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.
  - (5) The authorised officer shall be deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code.
6. (1) As soon as may be, after the receipt of the recommendations of the Committee, the Central Government shall make an order in terms of the recommendations or, subject to such modifications, if any, as it thinks fit, being modifications which, in the opinion of the Central Government, do not effect important alterations in the character of the recommendations.
- (2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), the Central Government may, if it thinks fit—
- (a) make such modifications in the recommendations not being modifications of the nature referred to in sub-section (i), as it thinks fit:
 

Provided that before making any such modifications, the Central Government shall cause notice to be given to all persons likely to be affected thereby in such manner as may be prescribed and shall take into account any representations which they may make in this behalf in writing, or
  - (b) refer the recommendations or any part thereof to the Committee, in which case the Central Government shall consider its further recommendations and make an order either in terms of the recommendations or with such modifications as are referred to in sub-section (1).
- (3) Every order made by the Central Government shall be published in the Official Gazette together with the recommendations of the Com-



mittee relating to the order, and the order shall come into operation on the date of publication or on such date, whether prospectively or retrospectively, as may be specified in the order.

7. Subject to the other provisions contained in section 10, the order of the Central Government on its publication in the Official Gazette shall be binding on all employers and working journalists in relation to whom the order has been made ; and every working journalist shall be entitled to claim wages at a rate which shall, in no case, be less than the rate of wages specified in the order.
8. The Central Government may, at any time after the expiry of three years from the date of the order passed by it under this Ordinance, if it is of opinion that circumstances require that the rates of wages specified in the order should be revised, constitute a Wage Board as provided in section 8 of the Working Journalists Act, and where a Wage Board is so constituted, the provisions of the Working Journalists Act shall apply thereto.
9. Any money due to a working journalist under any order of the Central Government made under this Ordinance, may be recovered in the same manner as money due under the Working Journalists Act may be recovered under section 17 of that Act.
10. (1) Sections 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the Working Journalists Act shall have no effect in relation to the Committee.  
 (2) The provisions of this Ordinance shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith in the terms of any award, agreement or contract of service, whether made before or after the commencement of this Ordinance :  

Provided that where under any such award, agreement, contract of service or otherwise, a working journalist is entitled to benefits in respect of any matter which are more favourable to him than those to which he would be entitled under this Ordinance, the working journalist shall continue to be entitled to the more favourable benefits in respect of that matter, notwithstanding that he receives benefits in respect of other matters under this Ordinance.

 (3) Nothing contained in this Ordinance shall be construed to preclude any working journalist from entering into any agreement with an employer for granting him rights or privileges in respect of any matter which are more favourable to him than those to which he would be entitled under this Ordinance.
11. No act or proceedings of the Committee shall be invalid merely by reason of the existence of any vacancy among its members or any defect in the constitution thereof.



12. (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules to carry out the purposes of this Ordinance.
- (2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for—
  - (a) the manner in which notices under this Ordinance may be published ;
  - (b) the procedure to be followed by the Committee in the exercise of its powers under this Ordinance ;
  - (c) the fees to be paid for inspection of documents furnished to the Committee.

## APPENDIX II

### Resolution of the Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society

“The Executive Committee of the Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society places on record its sense of deep regret at the precipitate action taken by the Government in promulgating the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance. The Committee expresses its views on the action of the Government as follows :—

- (a) The Ordinance is unfair to the newspaper industry as it seeks to impose another legislative instrument to determine the wages of the journalists when adequate and proper machinery for the determination of the rates of wages is provided by the Industrial Disputes Act and the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act. It is surprising that in spite of these existing legislative provisions the Government should have thought fit to create an official committee to determine the rates of wages.
- (b) No emergency had arisen to necessitate the promulgation of an ordinance and it would, therefore, appear that the Government is in hot-haste to determine this matter without adequate time being given inasmuch as the ordinance itself provides a very inadequate time-limit of only 30 days to make representations on such matters of all-India importance without even leaving any discretion to the Committee to extend the time in appropriate and deserving cases. This impression is strengthened by the statement made by the Hon'ble Labour Minister at his Press Conference when the Ordinance was promulgated when he stated, ‘the Government was keen that the Committee should prosecute its work with speed. The Committee was expected to report to the Government within three months.
- (c) The Committee of the Society is surprised that the Ordinance should make the Wage Board Decision, which has been declared by the Supreme Court of India as illegal and void, the basis of the inquiry by the Committee under the Ordinance. The Supreme Court held that the Wage Board had ignored the mandatory provisions of Section 9(1) of the Work-



ing Journalists Act and its decisions were, therefore, ultra vires of the Act. The fact that the Wage Board decision is made the basis of the inquiry under the Ordinance, is indicative of the approach of the Government to this problem. In all fairness, there should have been a fresh inquiry with an open mind.

- “(d) The Society has always urged that it was not proper to create a privileged class amongst all the employees of newspaper establishments and it had demanded a full and thorough inquiry to fix the rates of wages and conditions of service for all employees in newspaper establishments. This alone can bring industrial peace and harmony which is the objective of all labour legislation. The Committee has repeatedly urged this point of view upon the Government and its stand is in consonance with the socialistic pattern of society, which is the declared goal of the country.
- “(e) Notwithstanding the objectionable features of the Ordinance and the procedure adopted by the Government, which has no parallel and is unfair to the newspaper industry, this Committee authorises the President to submit a proper representation on behalf of the Society to the Official Committee and to nominate a delegation of the Society to give evidence before that Committee.
- “(f) The Committee confirms its view that in fairness to all concerned, all that the Government should do is to fix minimum wages for working journalists after due enquiry, leaving the question of scales of pay, dearness allowance, etc. for settlement between employer and employees at unit level in terms of the capacity of each unit to pay and that the minimum wages should be fixed on a region-wise instead of an all-India basis.”

### APPENDIX III

#### Working Journalists Wage Committee

##### NOTICE

Whereas the Wage Board constituted under the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1955, by notification No. SRO. 1075 of the Government of India in the Ministry of Labour, dated the 2nd May, 1958, gave decisions which were published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, Section 3, dated the 11th May, 1957 (the said decisions being hereinafter referred to as “the Wage Board decision”);

AND WHEREAS for the purpose of enabling the Central Government to fix rates of wages in respect of working journalists in the light of the judgment of the Supreme Court, dated the 19th day of March, 1958, relating to the Wage Board decision



and in the light of all other relevant circumstances, the Central Government constituted a committee under sub-section (1) of section 3 of the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance, 1958 (the said committee being hereinafter referred to as "the Committee") ;

NOW, THEREFORE, in pursuance of sub-section (1) of section 4 of the said Ordinance, the Committee by this notice calls upon newspaper establishments and working journalists and other persons interested in the Wage Board decision to make, within a period of thirty days from the date of this notice such representations as they may think fit as respects the Wage Board decision and the rates of wages which may be fixed under the said Ordinance in respect of working journalists.

Every such representation shall be in writing and shall state—

- (a) the specific grounds of objection, if any, to the Wage Board decision,
- (b) the rates or wages which, in the opinion of the person making the representation, would be reasonable, having regard to the capacity of the employer to pay the same or to any other circumstance, whichever may seem relevant to the person making the representation in relation to his representation,
- (c) the alterations or modifications, if any, which, in the opinion of the person making the representation, should be made in the Wage Board decision and the reasons therefor.

The representation shall be addressed to the Secretary to the Committee at his official address, namely, Ministry of Law, Room No. 102, First Floor, North Block Secretariat, New Delhi and shall reach him within the aforesaid period of thirty days.

DATED this, the Eighteenth day of June, 1958.



#### APPENDIX IV

### Representation of the Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society to the Committee appointed under the Ordinance

#### GENERAL

1. The Society replied to the Questionnaire issued by the Wage Board and gave evidence before the Wage Board setting forth its views generally. This Representation is supplementary thereto.
2. The Society regrets that it has not been given sufficient time to consult its Members to prepare this Representation and this Representation had to be prepared somewhat hurriedly.
3. The Society has made it clear that its Members are anxious to improve the conditions of service of the Working Journalists and all other employees. The Society has always been willing to co-operate with the Government in that direction but the Society has from the beginning urged upon the Government and the Wage Board subsequently appointed to bear in mind the conditions of the industry as a whole and the capacity of the newspapers to pay.

#### BASIC APPROACH

4. We would like to state very briefly, at the outset, our basic approach to this problem which consistently has been our approach ever since the appointment of the Press Commission.
  - (a) The Society is of the opinion that it would not be proper to select one class, from amongst all employees of newspaper establishments, for preferential treatment. The Working Journalists generally constitute about one-fifth of the total employees of a newspaper establishment and it would create dis-satisfaction and disharmony amongst the staff to confer special benefits upon Working Journalists only. It would also have its inevitable repercussions upon other employees of the establishment, and the management cannot entirely ignore their demands also. The Society, therefore, has always urged upon the Government to have full and comprehensive inquiry into the conditions of service of all employees of newspaper establishments, instead of selecting a few and creating a sort of a privileged class.
  - (b) The Society has further held the view that, if the rates of wages have to be fixed for Working Journalists alone, only minimum wages should be fixed on region-wise basis after a proper inquiry into the financial condition of each newspaper establishment and its capacity to pay. It is neither feasible nor desirable to fix even minimum wages on an all-India



basis on account of the different conditions in the various regions of the country.

- (c) The Society has also urged that, apart from fixing minimum rates of wages, all other matters like scales of pay, dearness allowance etc. should be left to be settled by collective bargaining or by adjudication by Tribunals under the Industrial Disputes Act, which has been applied to Working Journalists.

#### MINIMUM WAGES—PRESS COMMISSION

5. The Press Commission itself recommended only a Minimum Wage and stated that the rest must be left for settlement by mutual agreement or by adjudication. In paragraph 508 of the Report, the Commission, *inter alia*, stated as follows:—

“We do not in this Report propose to go into the details of pay scales as the Commission is neither a Labour Commission nor a Court of Industrial Arbitration. The proper scales of pay for each category of employees must depend upon various circumstances, such as cost of living in different parts of the country, the duties and responsibilities of each category of employees, the capacity of various units of the industry to bear the financial burden etc. All this will require a detailed and to some extent local investigation and, according to the proposals we are making later in this chapter for the application of the Industrial Disputes Act to Working Journalists, these points will have to be gone into, if and when necessity arises, according to the machinery set up under that Act or any other legislation that may take its place.”

In paragraph 538 of the Report, it is, *inter alia*, stated:—

“In this connection it may be stated that the Federation of Working Journalists also agreed when it was put to them that, apart from suggesting the minimum wage, it would not be possible for the Commission to undertake standardisation of designations or to fix scales of pay or other conditions of service for the different categories of employees for different papers in different regions. They have stated that these details must be left to be settled by collective bargaining, or, where an agreement is not possible, the dispute could be settled by a reference to an Industrial Court or an adjudicator with the assistance of a Wage Board, if necessary.....

“We agree in principle that there should be uniformity as far as possible in the conditions of service in respect of Working Journalists serving in the same area or locality. But this can be achieved only by a settlement or an adjudication to which the employers and the employees collectively are parties.”

Again in paragraph 539, the Commission, *inter alia*, stated:—

“We do not know of any case where a uniform rate has been prescribed for dearness allowance, applicable all over the country, irrespective of the economic conditions at different centres and the paying capacity of the various units. This must be a matter for mutual adjustment between the employers and the employees; and if there is no agreement, some machinery must be provided



by which disputes between the parties could be resolved. . . . . With regard to the standardisation of designations and the fixation of scales of pay for different categories of employees, we must leave the matter for mutual negotiation between the employers and the employees, and provide for a suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by mutual agreement or, if that cannot be brought about, by adjudication ”.

#### C. P. COMMITTEE

6. The Committee appointed by the Government of C.P. and Berar in 1948, under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J.R. Mudholkar, also came to the same conclusion and decided that it could only recommend a minimum wage for journalists and it came to the conclusion that, considering the pecuniary financial position of the newspapers in that Province, any enforcement by legislation even of the minimum wages recommended by that Committee was likely to lead to the closure of a large number of newspapers.

#### U. P. COMMITTEE

7. The Committee appointed by the Government of the United Province under the chairmanship of Shri Keshavdev Malaviya, also came to the conclusion that it could recommend only a consolidated basic pay including dearness allowance and added “ We have not recommended any scale of pay or grade because, in our opinion, annual or other kind of increments in the salaries of those engaged in editorial work depend largely upon their efficiency, experience and foresight.”

#### BILL

8. That this was also the view of the Government is amply borne out by the Bill which was introduced in Parliament which ultimately became the Act. That Bill provided for the appointment of a Minimum Wage Board to fix minimum rates of wages but for reasons which we need not go into at this stage, the word “ minimum ” was subsequently dropped from that Bill.

#### VIEWS OF IENS & ILNA

9. This Society and the Indian Languages Newspapers Association, which between them represent almost all the newspapers of this country, strongly urged upon the Wage Board that the Wage Board should only fix minimum rates of wages, leaving the rest to collective bargaining or adjudication. The Wage Board was authorised under the Act to fix rates of wages and the Act did not prescribe whether the wages which were to be fixed were minimum wages, fair wages or living wages and it was left to the discretion of the Wage Board to determine the same. Under the Ordinance also rates of wages have to be fixed and the Society again strongly urges upon the Government and the Committee that only “ minimum wages ” should be fixed regionwise, after due enquiry into the financial condition of each newspaper establishment and its capacity to pay and leave the rest to collective bargaining or adjudication. This is the only feasible course, considering the present condition of the newspaper industry as a whole in the country.



## WAGE BOARD DECISION

10. We shall now deal with the Wage Board Decision. The Supreme Court declared the Wage Board Decision illegal and void and ultra vires of the Act. Apart from many other objections to the Wage Board Decision, the Supreme Court held that the Wage Board ignored the mandatory provisions of Section 9(1) of the Act and failed to take into consideration the basic factor of the capacity of the industry to pay which introduced a fatal infirmity in the Decision of the Board because the essential condition for the fixation of wage structure was completely ignored by the Board. The rate structure embodied in the Decision of the Wage Board is, therefore, totally unrealistic and divorced from facts. It is, therefore, surprising that the Ordinance should make the Wage Board Decision the basis of its inquiry. For the inquiry to be fair and impartial, it was necessary that it ought to have been a fresh inquiry with an open mind instead of proceeding on a basis which has been declared by the Highest Court of the Country to be illegal and void.

## OBJECTIONS

11. The Committee has indicated that, in the Representations to be made to the Committee, the specific grounds of objections to the Wage Board Decision and the alterations or modifications, if any, which in the opinion of the person making the representation, should be made in the Wage Board Decision and the reasons therefor should be stated. The petitions which were filed in the Supreme Court by the several newspaper establishments and the statements and affidavits which were filed and the arguments and submissions which were made on their behalf at the hearing of those petitions set forth in detail the objections to the Wage Board Decision and the effects thereof. The said record, no doubt, is available to the Committee. It is, therefore, unnecessary for us to repeat all those objections and arguments and submissions but we shall briefly summarise them.

### (i) **No Reasons**

The Wage Board has not given any reasons for its Decision. It is, therefore, difficult to divine what considerations, if any, prevailed with the Wage Board in arriving at its Decision. It is, however, clear that the Wage Board totally ignored several important factors enumerated in Section 9(1) of the Act and particularly the circumstances relating to the newspaper industry in different regions of the country and the capacity of the newspaper establishments to pay the rates of wages recommended by the Wage Board.

### (ii) **Wrong Procedure**

The procedure followed by the Wage Board violated the principles of natural justice. The newspaper establishments never knew the proposals which the Wage Board had in mind nor were they given any opportunity to express their views on such proposals. The Wage Board heard the parties in the absence of one another and the newspaper establish-



ments never knew the demands which were made by the Working Journalists.

(iii) **Inadequate Data**

As is admitted by the Chairman in his Note and as pointed out by the Employers' Representatives in their Minute of Dissent, the data collected by the Wage Board was inadequate and unsatisfactory and did not justify the conclusions which the Wage Board came to. Out of 5,705 newspapers to which the Questionnaire was addressed, only 312 or at best 325 had responded and, to use the language of the Supreme Court, the Wage Board was in the dark as to what was the position in regard to other newspaper establishments. The Wage Board, in fact, groped in the dark in the absence of sufficient data and information which would enable it to come to a proper conclusion in regard to the wage structure which it was to determine. The Wage Board was not sure of its own ground and was publishing its decision merely by way of an experiment. Even the request of employers' representatives to appoint investigators to collect data was rejected.

(iv) **Classification of Newspapers on Gross Revenue**

The classification of newspaper establishments on the basis of gross revenue is wrong.

- (a) Gross revenue cannot be an index to the financial position of a newspaper. A newspaper with large gross revenue may be making losses whereas one with lesser gross revenue may be making profits.
- (b) Advertisement revenue is the principal source of income to a newspaper and in any classification of newspapers, the proportion of advertisement revenue to the revenue from sales has to be borne in mind. Revenue from sales is hardly enough to meet the cost of production. As the Supreme Court observed, in classifying newspaper establishments on the basis of their gross revenue, the proportion of advertisement revenue to the gross revenue does not appear to have been taken into consideration by the Wage Board nor was the essential difference which subsisted between the circulation and the paying capacity of Language Newspapers as compared with the newspapers in English language taken into consideration. If this had been done, the basis of gross revenue, which the Wage Board adopted, would have been modified in several respects.
- (c) The Wage Board decision states that for the purpose of classification, revenue from all sources of newspaper establishment shall be taken for ascertaining gross revenue. This is entirely wrong in principle. Even when the Employers' Representatives agreed as a matter of compromise to make gross revenue the basis of classification, they made it abundantly clear that it should be gross revenue only from advertisement and sales and no other source. The Working Journalists make no contribution whatsoever to the income of a newspaper establish-



ment from any source other than the newspaper and it is wrong in principle to give the benefit of such income from other sources to a class of employees who make no contribution to it and deprive others of the benefits to which they have actually contributed. In fact, newspaper establishments create other sources of income in order to meet the losses of the newspapers. Such sources of income are uncertain and fluctuating. For example, income from job work or crossword puzzles when they were permitted, publication of books etc. have nothing whatsoever to do with the newspaper as such. Saurashtra Trust, for example, has a Safe Deposit Vault and a Type Foundry, income from which cannot possibly be included in the gross revenue of a newspaper for the purpose of determining the wage structure for the Working Journalists.

- (d) There are various factors which must be taken into consideration in any classification of newspaper establishments such as its advertisement revenue, circulation, its location, the capital invested, its profit and loss etc.
- (e) Moreover, the slabs provided are long and there ought to have been more slabs as pointed out by the Employers' Representatives in their Minute of Dissent.

**(v) Groups, Multiple Units and Chains**

(a) It is indefensible from any point of view to classify newspapers into groups, multiple units and chains on the basis of the total gross revenue of all the constituent units. As pointed out by the Employers' Representatives, this is unfair and unnatural and it would give no real picture of the capacity of the newspaper establishment to pay. The Chairman of the Wage Board has attempted to justify this classification as a matter of principle and on certain observations made by the Press Commission which appear to have been misunderstood and misapplied totally ignoring the burden it casts on a particular establishment. This classification entirely ignores regional conditions. The disastrous consequences of this classification on the newspaper establishments were vividly brought out in the statements which were submitted to the Supreme Court on behalf of the Saurashtra Trust and the Free Press Group of Newspapers and other Petitioners. To give a few instances of such consequences. The Saurashtra Trust, according to the Wage Board, would be classified in "A" group. It has a small tabloid-sized four-page daily paper called "Cutch Mitra" at Bhuj which has no news service and gives mainly local news. The Editor of that paper, according to this classification, will have to be paid on the same scale as the Editor of any "A" class English daily. The principal newspaper of the Saurashtra Trust, namely, "Janmabhoomi" in Bombay, which as a unit has less advertisement revenue and gross income than the "Bombay Samachar", another leading Gujarati daily in Bombay, will have to pay its Work-



ing Journalists on the basis of "A" class whereas the Working Journalists of "Bombay Samachar" will be paid on the basis of "B" class. It would be very difficult for "Janmabhoomi" to compete with "Bombay Samachar" in such circumstances. Further, a Working Journalist in "Bombay Samachar" for doing same kind of work in the same place will get less than a Working Journalist doing the same kind of work in the same place in "Janmabhoomi". The same is the story with other papers of this group namely, "Pratap" at Surat and "Fulchhab" at Rajkot. "Pratap" as a unit will fall in class "D" or "E" whereas, because of this unnatural classification, it will be treated as falling in class "A". Another daily at Surat called "Gujrat Mitra" will fall in class "E", making it impossible for "Pratap" to survive. The same is the result for "Fulchhab" as against "Jai Hind", another paper at Rajkot. Similarly with regard to Free Press Group. It has a Gujarati daily called "Janshakti" and a Marathi daily called "Navshakti". By themselves, each of them will fall in class "D" or "E" and yet, because of this classification, they are treated as falling in class "A". Under the circumstances, it is impossible for "Janshakti" to survive against the "Bombay Samachar" in Bombay which is classed "B" or for "Navshakti" against other Marathi dailies at Bombay which fall in class "D" or "E". We attach hereto statements marked Nos. 1 and 2: one comparing "Janshakti" with "Bombay Samachar" and "Navshakti" with "Sakal" and the other statement comparing "Janmabhoomi" with "Bombay Samachar", "Pratap" with "Gujrat Mitra", and "Fulchhab" with "Jai Hind". The absurd results which flow from this classification are apparent, apart from the heavy financial burden thrown upon newspaper establishments. We also attach hereto a statement marked No. 3 comparing "Free Press Journal" with "Times of India", "The Hindu" and "Statesman" which will show that the classification of all newspapers with gross revenue above Rs. 25,00,000/- in one class is unfair and unjust to the newspaper establishments.

- (b) The Free Press Group has an English daily and Gujarati and Marathi dailies. According to this classification, the Working Journalists of all these newspapers have to be put on the same basis. It has always been recognised even by the journalists themselves that the Working Journalists in English dailies cannot be put on the same basis as those in language newspapers. The nature of the work and the qualifications for the work in English and language papers are toally of a different character. The Working Journalists themselves, while making a collective bargain with the management of the Free Press Group, recognised this difference and different scales of pay were provided and agreed to for the English daily and the language dailies.
- (c) Even the definition of a newspaper establishment cannot be said to



include within it establishments at different centres as a newspaper establishment must be deemed to be an establishment at one place.

- (d) Certain unfavourable comments of the Press Commission regarding groups and chains were directed against certain malpractices alleged to have crept in the management of some groups and chains but they were never intended to bring about classification unfair and unnatural and to throw a heavy financial burden on newspaper establishments.
- (e) This kind of classification will drive out of existence weaker units of newspaper establishments like Saurashtra Trust who may like to start or maintain such units for the growth of district papers.
- (f) The argument that groups and chains lead to economy in management has not much validity. In a chain, each paper at every centre is an establishment by itself with full staff and equipment necessary for the paper. In a group, while there is some economy in overhead managerial charges, the staff for each paper is entirely different. It is also wrong to put a chain on the same basis as a multiple unit. In a chain each newspaper is separate from the other, whereas in a multiple unit the same paper is published from different centres.

(vi) **Weeklies**

The decision that weeklies published by newspaper establishments which also publish dailies shall be classified in the same category as the daily newspaper is entirely unjustifiable. Some of the dailies have weeklies for which staff is different and whose circulation and gross revenue may have no relation to the circulation and gross revenue of the daily.

(vii) **Grouping of Working Journalists**

The grouping of Working Journalists and the functional definitions given in the schedule to the Wage Board Decision are vague, over-lapping, unscientific and unreasonable and are likely to lead to difficulties, disputes and extravagant claims. This grouping and the functional definitions have little relation to reality. The Working Journalists should be grouped into three or four categories only, i.e. Group I—Editor ; Group II—Joint Editor, Assistant Editor, Leader Writer and News Editor ; Group III—All others who are not included in group II ; and Group IV—Proof-reader.

(viii) **Part-time Employees**

As regards part-time employees, the question of their wages ought to have been left entirely to mutual agreement between the employees and the management. It was the unanimous opinion of all newspaper establishments that it would not be proper for the Wage Board to prescribe any rates of wages for part-time employees because of varying conditions in various establishments. Particularly as regards part-time correspondents it is impossible to say that all of them are journalists or to measure the



worth of their work and their question could and should have been left to mutual agreement.

(ix) **Proof-readers**

The inclusion of proof-readers in the definition of Working Journalist in the Act has a curious history. The Press Commission stated that only those whose professed avocation and the principal means of livelihood was journalism should be regarded as Working Journalists and they deliberately used the words "professed avocation". They categorically stated that they did not regard proof-readers as a class as Working Journalists and they came to this conclusion after careful consideration. The Minister for Information & Broadcasting during the discussion on the Bill in Parliament, stated that he had included proof-readers in the definition of Working Journalists on the representation of Working Journalists but did this without consulting the newspaper proprietors. During the course of the debate he explained that according to him only such a proof-reader whose principal avocation is that of a journalist and who is employed as such, will be regarded as Working Journalist under the Act. It is understood that the Law Ministry had also advised accordingly. After the Bill was published, the Society and newspaper-proprietors represented to the Government that the inclusion of proof-reader in the definition of Working Journalist was contrary to fact and to the recommendation of the Press Commission. They were assured by Government that only such proof-readers were intended to be included who fell within the first part of the definition and no others. Unfortunately as it turned out, the Society's apprehensions have come true and every proof-reader in a newspaper establishment, whether his principal avocation is that of a journalist or not, claims to be and is treated by the Courts as a Working Journalist. The Madras High Court has held merely on the interpretation of this definition that whether a proof-reader is a journalist or not (and the Court stated that it was not called upon to decide that issue), the definition being an inclusive definition, the first part of it was independent of the second and the proof-reader having been expressly included in the definition, is a Working Journalist. This is contrary to facts, to the unanimous recommendation of the Press Commission, to the intentions of the Government and the assurances given by the Government to newspaper proprietors. Certain observations made by the Supreme Court should not be made an excuse now for justifying something which was initially wrong and is still wrong. It is well-known that a newspaper establishment may have a proof-reader who is an apprentice for sub-editorship and whose principal avocation is that of a journalist and also a proof-reader who has nothing to do with the newspaper and who may be engaged only in job work. It will be found that out of the total number of the Working Journalists employed in a newspaper establishment inclusive of proof-readers according to this definition, about one-third of them are proof-readers and should not be classed as Working Journalists. For example, in the



Free Press Group, there are 65 Working Journalists and 22 proof-readers. The inclusion of proof-readers in the definition has thrown considerable further financial burden upon newspaper establishments because they are entitled to all the benefits given to Working Journalists under the Act and by the Wage Board Decision. The Bombay Government, which has applied Minimum Wages Act to press workers, has rightly treated proof-readers as press workers and has fixed a consolidated salary of Rs. 110/- per month for them in the City of Bombay. On a reference under the Industrial Disputes Act by the Bombay Government in the dispute between newspapers and printing presses in Bombay and their workers, the Industrial Tribunal also fixed Rs. 75/- as the basic starting salary and Rs. 35/- as Dearness Allowance for a proof-reader. The benefits to which the proof-readers are entitled under the Act and the Wage Board Decision are much higher and are entirely out of proportion to the quality and nature of their work and their qualification. This will also create discrimination between proof-readers in the same establishment where some of them are exclusively employed in the factory for job work. We realise that it may not be possible for this Committee to entirely ignore proof-readers in view of the definition in the Act as it stands. But we mention these facts to urge upon Government to amend the Act without delay and, till that is done, the Committee and the Government may bear the above facts in mind in fixing the minimum wage for proof-readers which should be much less than the rates fixed under the Wage Board Decision. In fact, the functional definition of proof-reader given by the Wage Board is far from being real and the majority of proof-readers do not discharge all the functions mentioned in the definition nor have they the qualifications to do so.

(x) **Wages, Scales & Grades**

- (a) The wages, scales and grades fixed by the Wage Board by a majority decision having been fixed in utter disregard of the mandatory provisions of Section 9(1) of the Act and particularly the circumstances relating to the newspaper industry in different regions of the country and the capacity of the newspaper establishments to pay, have to be totally rejected. The employers' representatives rightly pointed out in their Minute of Dissent that "the proposals, which the majority has made, clearly show that according to it, the dominating principle of wage fixation is the need of the worker as conceived by them, irrespective of its effect on the industry." The Wage Board does not appear to have realised that it had to take into consideration the essential factor of the capacity of the industry to pay. This factor was nowhere prominently brought in issue and no information on that point was sought from the various newspaper establishments to whom the Questionnaire was addressed or when they were examined orally. The Wage Board appears to have ignored the condition of the industry as disclosed in the Report



of the Press Commission which shows that out of 127 newspapers 68 had been running at a loss and 59 with profits and that there was an overall profit of about 1 per cent on capital investment of 7 crores. The picture as a whole, as the Press Commission stated, does not reveal tempting future prospects for the investor looking for safe and regular return on his capital. The profit and loss accounts and the balance-sheets of the various companies which were submitted before the Wage Board had a very sorry tale to tell. The Profit and Loss statements for the year 1954-55 revealed that 43 of them showed profit and 40 had incurred losses.

- (b) The Wage Board never took into consideration the effect of the financial burden which its decision would cast upon newspaper establishments. In fact, the Chairman admitted in his Note that it was difficult for the Wage Board at that stage to work out with any degree of precision the economic and other effects of their decision on the newspaper industry as a whole. Really an attempt should have been made to project the burden of the wage structure into two or three succeeding years and determine how it affects the financial position of the employers. No such attempt was made by the Wage Board.
- (c) The Wage Board also did neither take into consideration the impact of its decision on the other employees in the newspaper establishments which comprise about four-fifths of the total employees nor did it make any effort to gather any information on that point. If they had made any attempt to do so, it is certain that the rates of wages including scales would have been much lower than those found in their decision.
- (d) The Wage Board never gave any opportunity to the newspaper proprietors to give their reactions to the proposals of the Wage Board. The Employers' Representatives attempted, though with very insufficient data, to assess the effect of the Wage Board Decision on some of the newspapers and they have set out the result in paragraph 15 of their Minute of Dissent. The petitioners before the Supreme Court vividly depicted and proved the very heavy financial burden which the Wage Board Decision would throw upon their establishments. We attach hereto a statement marked No. 4 showing briefly the effect on some of the newspaper establishments of the Wage Board Decision. These establishments fairly represent a cross-section of the industry. We also attach hereto a statement marked No. 5 showing the present emoluments of Editors and News Editors in various newspapers and the minimum that they will have to be paid according to the Wage Board Decision and a similar statement marked No. 6 in the case of Sub-editors. We also attach herewith a comparative statement marked No. 7 of the proposals made by the Employers' Representatives, the proposals made by the



journalists' representatives and those made by the Chairman which were ultimately adopted and it will be seen that the Chairman has adopted more or less the proposals made by the Working Journalists. Two of the Employers' Representatives stated that only minimum wage should be fixed without any scales. Mr. A.R. Bhatt, while he agreed to scales being fixed for certain categories of Working Journalists, did so on condition that increments should be given only for those years when the newspaper establishment had enough profits and with an efficiency bar. All proposals made by the Employers' Representatives which had the unanimous support of the newspaper proprietors were rejected by the Wage Board and they fixed wages, grades and scales in utter disregard of the condition of the newspaper industry in different regions of the country and its capacity to pay.

- (e) It should be borne in mind that when the Press Commission recommended a minimum wage of Rs. 125/- per month it had not proof-readers in mind and that minimum wage was to apply to the Working Journalists who were Graduates or holders of equivalent qualifications including University Diploma in Journalism or had put in five years service including the period of apprenticeship in one or more newspapers.
- (f) The newspaper proprietors have always urged that some minimum qualifications should be prescribed for Working Journalists and this has been recognised by the Press Commission as well as by the U.P. and C.P. Inquiry Committees, but the Wage Board ignored that relevant factor in prescribing its rates of wages.
- (g) The Wage Board ignored the considerable financial burden which was placed upon the newspaper establishments by the provisions of the Working Journalists Act, particularly Sections 3 to 7 and 14 and 15 which prescribe longer period of notice, retrenchment compensation, compulsory gratuity with retrospective effect, less hours of work and longer periods of leave than enjoyed by other employees of the newspaper establishments on the managerial and administrative side and in the factory. These provisions of the Act impose considerable burden on the newspaper establishments which to a certain extent is incalculable in its effects and for which few, if any, newspaper establishments have made previous provision. The Supreme Court has said "these provisions were bound to have their impact on the paying capacity of the newspaper establishments and if these had been borne in mind by the Wage Board it is highly likely that the rates of wages including scales of wages as finally determined might have been on a lesser scale than what one finds in its Decision".
- (h) The Society is definitely of the opinion that only minimum wages should be fixed for Working Journalists on a region-wise basis



after due and proper inquiry into the financial condition of each newspaper establishment and its capacity to pay. Even if scales of pay have to be prescribed, it can be done only for newspaper establishments whose gross revenue from advertisement and sales is above Rs. 12½ lacs per annum with more slabs over that gross revenue and proper classification of journalists, with an efficiency bar. Such scales should be based on the capacity of a unit at the bottom of each slab.

(xi) **Dearness Allowance**

The Society is of the opinion that Dearness Allowance should be fixed on the same scale region-wise as done by each State for its employees and it should not be linked to cost of living index as done by the Wage Board Decision. Apart from the fact that it would be frequently varying, it ignores regional conditions. The scale fixed by the Wage Board Decision for dearness allowance is even higher than the scale fixed by the several State Governments and the Central Government. Several newspaper establishments have a consolidated pay and have given increments on such consolidated pay. In such cases, the newspaper establishments should have liberty to split up the basic pay and the dearness allowance and to adjust the pay of the employees accordingly. Such newspaper establishments that have a consolidated pay and have granted increments on that basis, should not be penalised by taking such pay as the basic pay and be compelled to give increments and make fitment on the basis of such pay. It may be added that dearness allowance has to be paid to all employees and any discrimination between Working Journalists and other employees will lead to dissatisfaction and ultimately the management will be driven to pay to all employees dearness allowance on a uniform scale which will increase the burden.

(xii) **Location Allowance**

The Society is entirely opposed to any location allowance being paid separately to Working Journalists. It must be deemed to be included in dearness allowance. The grounds for payment of location allowance, like dearness allowance, apply with equal force to all employees of a newspaper establishment and it is wrong to single out only Working Journalists for payment of location allowance.

(xiii) **Fitment & Weightage**

The provisions regarding fitment and weightage in the Wage Board Decision throw an excessive burden. The Wage Board did not take into consideration the varying conditions in different newspaper establishments and the past increments given to the employees. Compulsory increments have to be given even in cases where increments have been given in the past. This is unfair and all that should be required is that the employee should be fitted in a particular grade according to and in the scale prescribed for him.



**(xiv) Re-classification**

The provision in paragraph 35 of the Wage Board Decision is grossly unfair. If on a reclassification, the newspaper establishment has to be put in a lower class, even then it will be bound to continue to pay the wages of a higher class in which it was previously placed and the only difference is that the future increments shall be those applicable to the new class in which it is placed. This means that even though the income of the newspaper establishment has gone down, the burden of the higher class will remain and even increments will have to be given, though in the scale of the new class.

**(xv) Retrospective Effect**

It is submitted that it is wrong in principle to give retrospective effect to a decision of this character which throws financial burden on newspaper establishments for which they may have made no provision. In fact when new scales are prescribed, the employers should be given enough time to adjust their financial condition to the new scales and such new scales should be brought into operation after a certain time. The Employers' Representatives strongly urged that the operation of the new scales should be phased to allow the newspaper establishments to adjust but the request was rejected. In any event, the Society strongly opposes any retrospective or retro-active operation of any decision on rates of wages.

**(xvi) Weeklies & Monthlies**

The decisions of the Wage Board regarding Weeklies and Monthlies also throw a very heavy burden upon the establishments and are in some respects more harsh in their effects. The fictitious multiplication of revenue in the case of bi-weekly and tri-weekly publications and the classification of Weeklies and Monthlies on the basis of circulation, as distinct from the classification of dailies on the basis of gross revenue, is entirely unrealistic and unjustified. We do not enter into details since we contend that the entire decision of the Wage Board should be rejected.

**WAGE BOARD DECISION—NO BASIS**

12. We have attempted to summarise briefly the main objections to the Wage Board Decision. In our opinion, it is not possible to make any alterations or modifications in those decisions so as to make them fair and just or practical. The only course open to the Committee and to the Government is to consider the whole matter afresh in the light of what we have stated above. We would earnestly urge upon the Committee and the Government to have a proper inquiry with an open mind, instead of making the Wage Board Decision the basis of the inquiry.

**COLLECTIVE BARGAINING & ADJUDICATION**

13. Section 7 of the Ordinance makes the Order of the Central Government binding on all newspaper employers and working journalists and every working



journalist shall be entitled to claim wages at a rate which shall in no case be less than the rates of wages specified in the Order. Section 10 overrides any award, agreement, or contract of service whether made before or after the commencement of the Ordinance. These provisions are really applicable only to a minimum wage which must be paid by every employer, irrespective of his capacity to pay. Such provisions can have and should have no application where wages proposed to be fixed are other than minimum wages. In such case, collective bargaining should be encouraged. The employees of a particular establishment know better its financial condition and capacity to pay and if the employees—and particularly Working Journalists—negotiate an agreement with the management or there is an Award after adjudication, such agreement or Award should be given effect to. It is better to leave employers and employees to come to an agreement or get an award by adjudication than to make rates of wages which are not minimum wages compulsorily binding on employers and employees which may result in the closure of an establishment and unemployment. We therefore submit that if anything more than fixation of minimum wages is intended, such rates of wages should be made subject to any agreement or Award between employers and employees. This is a principle recognised in all labour legislation.

### CONCLUSION

14. The Society is conscious that the conditions of the service of the Working Journalists in some respects need to be improved and has always been willing to co-operate with the Government for that purpose but we cannot ignore the condition of the Newspaper Industry also. It would not be right to be carried away by the prosperous condition of a few newspapers in metropolitan towns. For the growth of democracy, we need considerable development of newspapers, particularly of medium and small size in the districts, and any decision on the wage structure which puts heavy burden on such newspapers will only drive them out of existence. It may be realised that because of restrictions on import of newsprint, the newspapers may have to restrict the number of pages which will result in reduction of advertisement revenue which is already going down. Improvement of conditions of service of Working Journalists can be done effectively only if newspapers are on a sound footing. The aim of all labour and social legislation should be to increase employment and increase production and we cannot conceive a wage structure which will create unemployment or reduce the number of newspapers. We therefore respectfully urge a fresh approach to the whole problem.



## Statement No. 1

## COMPARISON OF JANASHAKTI WITH BOMBAY SAMACHAR

(Gujerati dailies)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Janashakti</i> (“A” Class)	<i>Bombay Samachar</i> (“B” Class)
(1) Income from subscription ..	1952-53	1,03,552	10,46,538
	1953-54	1,67,448	10,74,474
	1954-55	2,18,911	9,72,489
(2) Income from advertisement ..	1952-53	20,846	9,52,054
	1953-54	38,182	9,23,241
	1954-55	1,25,304	10,63,802
(3) Total income .. ..	1952-53	1,24,398	20,55,691
	1953-54	2,05,630	20,31,981
	1954-55	3,44,215	20,70,224
(4) Circulation .. ..	1952-53	8,047	26,750
	1953-54	10,577	25,632
	1954-55	13,598	23,372

## COMPARISON OF NAVASHAKTI WITH SAKAL

(Marathi dailies)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Navashakti</i> (“A” Class)	<i>Sakal</i> (“C” Class)
(1) Income from subscription ..	1952-53	3,39,057	6,38,794
	1953-54	2,70,441	6,15,443
	1954-55	2,61,990	6,41,714
(2) Income from advertisement ..	1952-53	1,92,197	4,05,482
	1953-54	1,54,834	3,91,325
	1954-55	1,54,355	4,33,100
(3) Total income .. ..	1952-53	5,31,254	10,97,771
	1953-54	4,25,375	10,60,690
	1954-55	4,16,345	11,29,927
(4) Circulation .. ..	1952-53	18,395	27,536
	1953-54	16,884	29,032
	1954-55	16,013	29,910



## Statement No. 2

A TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARABLE FINANCIAL POSITION OF (1) JANNABHOOMI V/S BOMBAY SAMACHAR AT BOMBAY (2) PRATAP V/S GUJARAT MITRA AT AND (3) PHULCHHAB V/S JAI HIND AT RAJKOT. IT WILL GIVE A CLEAR IDEA ABOUT DISPROPORTIONATE HEAVY BURDEN ON GROUP PAPERS IN COMPARISON WITH INDIVIDUAL PAPERS.

	Income from subscription			Income from advertisement		
	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Jannabhoomi (Bombay)	..	5,27,170	5,00,000	3,95,651	3,60,800	4,10,500
2. Bombay Samachar (Bombay)	..	10,46,538	9,72,489			
1. Pratap (Surat)	..	1,29,000	95,605	95,238	76,680	87,938
2. Gujarat Mitra (Surat)	..	1,46,564	1,31,690	77,938	94,401	1,18,060
1. Phulchhab (Rajkot)	..	84,641	64,796	85,772	1,04,800	1,17,805
2. Jai Hind (Rajkot)	..	3,61,322	3,53,862	4,28,133	4,01,332	4,29,500



## Statement No. 2 (continued)

	Total Income			Net Profit & Loss			Circulation		
	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
1. Jannabhoomi (Bombay) ..	Rs. 9,22,861	Rs. 8,29,400	Rs. 9,10,500	Rs. 1,01,291 (P)	Rs. 94,161 (P)	Rs. 94,242 (P)	13,725	16,816	18,285
2. Bombay Samachar (Bombay) ..	20,55,691	20,31,981	20,70,224	2,04,937 (P)	1,38,658 (P)	2,44,907 (P)	26,750	25,632	23,372
1. Pratap (Surat)	2,44,806	2,00,698	2,16,714	39,639 (P)	16,411 (P)	8,838 (P)	5,663	5,667	5,900
2. Gujarat Mitra (Surat) ..	2,45,313	2,54,792	2,74,381	26,749 (P)	24,443 (P)	3,375 (P)	7,116	7,350	7,555
1. Phulchhab (Rajkot) ..	1,76,050	1,77,899	1,83,810	39,149 (Loss)	22,172 (Loss)	58,435 (Loss)	3,342	2,745	2,660
2. Jai Hind (Rajkot) ..	5,13,791	5,47,981	6,24,461	34,830 (P)	12,307 (Loss)	19,930 (Loss)	13,687	13,933	13,604

Note: Jannabhoomi, Pratap and Phulchhab, as a chain are put in class 'A' whereas Bombay Samachar is in class 'B', Gujarat Mitra in class 'D' and Jai Hind in class 'C'.



**Statement No. 3**  
**COMPARISON OF FREE PRESS JOURNAL WITH TIMES OF INDIA, HINDU & STATESMAN**

<i>Items</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Free Press</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Statesman</i>
(1) Income from subscription	..	13,64,867 18,40,656 20,73,480	1,10,36,820 1,80,70,009 1,08,05,621	27,65,891 28,09,683 28,91,533	25,07,242 24,79,811 24,97,693
(2) Income from advertisement	..	12,86,806 12,98,317 16,49,134	87,87,721 92,41,197 1,00,54,679	34,58,060 32,98,175 39,47,673	55,46,853 53,63,800 58,55,320
(3) Other income	..	13,000 1,01,878 1,71,352	46,18,624 46,21,474 48,47,887	4,43,595 5,64,647 5,77,604	2,30,140 2,23,566 1,70,233
(4) Total income	..	26,64,673 32,40,851 38,93,966	2,44,43,165 2,39,32,680 2,57,08,187	66,67,546 66,67,505 74,15,815	82,84,235 80,67,177 85,23,246
(5) Net profit or loss	..	L 5,31,814 L 4,10,330 L 1,29,584	L 11,876 P 1,03,355 P 6,32,524	P 2,14,773 L 30,671 P 4,81,182	P 6,18,563 P 72,034 P 6,66,815
(6) Circulation	..	52,593 70,461 81,802	98,693 96,199 99,146	66,139 66,663 66,917	65,452 65,990 67,401

*Note:*

<i>Free Press Group</i>	<i>Times of India Group</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Statesman</i>
Two English Dailies	Two English Dailies	One English Daily	One English Daily
Two Vernacular Dailies	One vernacular Daily	One English Weekly	
One English Weekly	One vernacular Weekly		
	One English Weekly		
	One English Fortnightly		

2. The figures of profit or loss as stated in the Balance Sheet of Free Press Group and as submitted to the Wage Board are given above but through some mistake the figures of profit or loss for the years 1953-54 and 1954-55 as printed in Appeal Book Part I, Vol. II page 507 are incorrect, and the above mentioned are correct figures from the Balance Sheets.



**Statement No. 4**  
**EFFECT OF WAGE BOARD DECISION ON SALARY BILLS OF CERTAIN NEWSPAPERS ETC.**

1 <i>Newspaper</i>	2 <i>Total staff salary Rs.</i>	3 <i>Total Working Journalists salaries Rs.</i>	4 <i>% of Working Journalists salaries to total Wage Bill</i>	5 <i>Increase in Wage Bill due Wage Board decisions Rs.</i>	6 <i>% of increase to total Wage Bill</i>	7 <i>% of increase to Working Journalists Wage Bill</i>	8 <i>% of Working Journalists to total number of staff</i>
Jannabhoomi ..	3,23,688	76,200	23.5	52,528	16	70	12.7
Lokamanya ..	2,43,300	57,320	23.5	39,762	16	69	11.8
Vyapar ..	50,640	21,264	42	11,216	22	52.2	30.5
Cutchmitra ..	27,600	9,120	33	13,774	49.9	151	11.6
Pratap ..	73,056	19,956	27.3	16,032	22	80	11.6
Phulchhab ..	79,500	17,916	22.6	26,216	32.9	146.3	11
Press Trust of India ..	21,00,000	9,00,000	42.85	4,56,000	21.5	50.5	20.7
Free Press Journal, Free Press Bulletin & Bharat Jyoti ..	7,45,165	2,36,137	31.7	97,456	13	41.3	17.8
Navashakti ..	1,66,200	52,676	31.7	36,536	21.9	69.3	23.2
Janashakti ..	1,48,403	56,682	38.2	39,789	27	70	23.9
Sandesh ..	—	32,016	—	24,800	—	77.5	—
Jansatta ..	—	36,600	—	16,332	—	44.5	—
Lokasatta ..	77,996	27,132	35	10,800	13.5	36	—



## Statement No. 5

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT SHOWING THE MINIMUM TOTAL EMOLUMENTS OF EDITORS AND NEWS EDITORS, NOW OBTAINING IN DAILY NEWSPAPERS AND THE MINIMUM EMOLUMENTS ACCORDING TO THE WAGE BOARD DECISIONS

The reference of item No. 2 is from Appeal Book Part I, Volume 2, page 425. Item Nos. 3, 4 & 5 are calculated by us on the basis of minimum emoluments fixed by the Wage Board on the classification fixed and shown on page 315 of the same volume. The increments to be given to each working Journalist at the rate of one increment per three years service as weightage is not added in this calculation because the period of past service is not printed.

1	2		3			4	5
Designation	Present emoluments		Minimum under Wage Board decisions			Difference in Rupees	Per cent of increase
	Basic	D.A. or other allowance	Basic	D.A.	L.A.		
			NAVBHARAT TIMES "A" CLASS				
			(Bombay)				
	Rs.						
1. Editor	300	153	50	503			
2. News Editor	260	119/10	379/10	50	1,000	200	50
					500	125	50
					1,250	675	
							148%
							77.6%
			NAVBHARAT TIMES "A" CLASS				
			(Delhi)				
1. Editor	330	151/13	100	581/13	1,000	200	50
2. News Editor	260	119/10	379/10	500	125	50	50
					1,250	675	
							114.8%
							77.6%
			YUGDHARMA "D" CLASS				
			(Nagpur)				
1. Editor	150	23	173	200	60	20	280
2. News Editor	77	23	100	200	60	20	280
							107
							180
							61.8%
							180%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	HINDUSTAN "E" CLASS			
2. News Editor	600 — — 600	200	650	108.3%
	430 50 — 480	125	195	40.6%
1. Editor	NAVAJIVAN "B" CLASS			
2. News Editor	(Lucknow)	125	155	31%
	500 — — 500	87	92	24.5%
	375 — — 375			
1. Editor	BHARAT "B" CLASS			
2. News Editor	(Allahabad)	125	240	59.2%
	375 30 — 405			
1. Editor	SWATANTRA BHARAT "B" CLASS			
2. News Editor	150 56/4 100 306/4 500	125	329	110.7%
	NAI DUNAIYA "D" CLASS			
1. Editor	(Indore)	60	30	12%
	150 — 100 250			
1. Editor	VISHWAMITRA "B" CLASS			
2. News Editor	(Bombay)	125	425	170%
	250 — — 250			
1. Editor	SANMARG "D" CLASS			
2. News Editor	(Calcutta)	60	110	55%
	200 — — 200	60	175	129.6%
	135 — — 135			



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	500	ARYAVARTA "B" CLASS (Patna) 275 775 500 33/12 — 258/12 350		
2. News Editor	225		208	80.3%
1. Editor	500	NAVSHAKTI "A" CLASS (Bombay) — 500 1,000 — 360 500		
2. News Editor	360		750	150%
1. News Editor	70	PUDHARI "E" CLASS (Kolhapur) — 70 150		
1. Editor	100		150	214.2%
1. Editor	100	GAVKARI "D" CLASS (Nasik) — 100 200		160%
2. News Editor	430		260	
1. News Editor	135	LOKSATTA "A" CLASS (Bombay) — 900 1,000 — 430 500		
2. News Editor	430		350	28.8%
1. News Editor	135	MANVANTAR "E" CLASS (Poona) — 135 150		
2. News Editor	430		245	57%
1. Editor	2,000	SAKAL "B" CLASS (Poona) — 2,000 1,000		
2. News Editor	430		215	59.2%
1. Editor	2,000		200	—
2. News Editor	430		1,220	—



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	285 30 — 315 285 MAHARASHTRA "E" CLASS (Nagpur)	71 20 376	61	19.3%
1. News Editor	100 15 — 115 150 SIASAT "E" CLASS (Hyderabad)	45 20 215	100	86.9%
1. News Editor	233 106/8 — 397/12 225 TEJ "C" CLASS (Delhi)	56 50 331	—	—
1. News Editor	150 — — 150 200 INQUILAB JADID "D" CLASS (Bombay)	60 50 310	160	106%
1. Editor	400 — — 400 500 QUAMI AWAZ "B" CLASS (Lucknow)	125 30 655	255	63.7%
1. Editor	300 — — 300 300 AZAD HIND "E" CLASS (Calcutta)	75 50 425	125	141.6%
1. Editor	193 — — 193 193 REHUMANE DECCAN "E" CLASS (Hyderabad)	58 20 271	78	40.4%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2					3	4	5
	INSAF "E" CLASS (Delhi)							
1. Editor	..	..	50	25	200	150	245	45
			JANASHAKTI "A" CLASS (Gujarati)					22.5%
1. Editor	..	..	750	..	750	1,000	50	500
2. News Editor	..	..	360	..	360	500	50	315
			JAM-E-JAMSHED "C" CLASS (Bombay)					66.5% 87.5%
1. Editor	..	..	1,250	..	1,250	350	50	487
			BOMBAY SAMACHAR "A" CLASS (Bombay)					
1. Editor	..	..	1,900	75	200	2,175	1,000	200
			TARUN BHARAT "D" CLASS (Nagpur)					
1. Editor	..	..	500	..	..	500	200	20
			JANSATTA "B" CLASS (Ahmedabad)					
1. Editor	..	..	500	..	..	500	500	125
2. News Editor	..	..	170	..	..	170	350	87
			LOKASATTA "D" CLASS					
1. News Editor	..	..	130	40	..	170	200	60
							15	105
								35 % 186.4%
							275	61.7%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	300 .. .. JAIHIND "C" CLASS (Rajkot)	87 10 447	147	49%
1. Editor	650 35 .. SWADESAMITRAN "B" CLASS (Madras)	125 50 675		
1. Editor	1,500 .. .. DINAMANI "A" CLASS (Madras)	200 50 1,250	330	95.6%
2. News Editor	345 .. .. DINAMANI "A" CLASS (Madurai)	125 50 675	215	46.7%
1. Editor	230 .. .. NAVA INDIA "D" CLASS (Coimbatore)	60 20 280	150	65.2%
2. News Editor	230 .. .. THANTHI "C" CLASS (Madurai)	60 20 280	150	65.2%
1. Editor	250 .. .. ANDHRA PATRIKA "C" CLASS (Madras)	87 20 457	182	48.5%
2. News Editor	185 .. ..	60 20 305	115	60.5%
1. Editor	1,000 .. ..			



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	1,150	ANDHRA PRABHA "A" CLASS (Madras)		
2. News Editor	340	1,150	1,000	1,250
	..	340	500	675
	..	..	50	50
	..	..	200	125
	..	..	125	50
1. Editor	275	VISHAL ANDHRA "D" CLASS (Vijayawada)		
2. News Editor	275	275	200	270
	..	..	200	270
	..	..	60	10
	..	..	60	10
1. Editor	700	SAMYUKTA KARNATAK "C" CLASS (Hubli)		
	..	250	350	457
	..	950	87	20
	..	..	20	457
1. Editor	275	TAINADU "D" CLASS (Bangalore)		
	..	50	200	290
	..	175	60	30
	..	500	60	30
1. Editor	65	MALAYALA RAJYAM "D" CLASS (Quilon)		
	..	..	200	260
	..	65	60	..
1. Editor	500	MALAYALA MANORAMA "C" CLASS (Kottayam)		
	..	..	350	457
	..	..	87	20
1. Editor	150	DEEPIKA "C" CLASS (Kottayam)		
	..	..	350	337
	..	150	87	..
	..	..	287	191.3%
	..	..	195	300%
	..	..	100	8.6%
	..	..	335	98.5%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	160 .. ..	150 45 ..	35	11.8%
	KERALA BHUSHNAM "E" CLASS			
1. News Editor	80 25 ..	150 45 ..	90	85.7%
	MALABAR MAIL "E" CLASS (Ernakulam)			
1. News Editor	75 .. ..	150 45 10	130	173.3%
	MALAYALI "E" CLASS (Trivandrum)			
1. Editor	225 15 ..	200 60 ..	260	
	DESH BANDHU "D" CLASS (Kottayam)			
1. Editor	1,000 38 ..	500 125 20	645	
2. News Editor	227 38 ..	350 87 20	457	72.4%
	MATHRUBHUMI "B" CLASS (Kozhikode)			
1. Editor	110 15 ..	150 45 195		
2. News Editor	60 20 ..	150 45 195	70	56%
	CHANDRIKA "E" CLASS		115	143.7%
1. Editor	80 .. ..	150 45 ..	115	143.7%
2. News Editor	80 .. ..	150 45 ..	115	143.7%
	JANYUGAM "E" CLASS			



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
	JUGANTAR "A" CLASS (Calcutta)			
1. Editor	985	300	1,285	1,000
2. News Editor	423	18	441	500
			200	1,250
			125	675
	ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA "A" CLASS (Calcutta)			
1. Editor	800	250	1,210	1,000
2. News Editor	600	120	720	600
			200	1,250
			150	800
	BASUMATI "C" CLASS (Calcutta)			
1. Editor	305	100	405	350
2. News Editor	195	..	228	225
			87	487
			56	331
	PRAJATANTRA "D" CLASS (Bangalore)			
1. Editor	280	..	280	200
2. News Editor	125	..	125	200
			60	290
			60	290
	SAMAJ "D" CLASS (Cuttack)			
1. News Editor	120	60	25	205
			200	290
			60	41.4%
	RANJIT "E" CLASS (Patiala)			
1. News Editor	100	..	100	150
			45	195
			95	95%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
	TIMES OF INDIA "A" CLASS			
	(Bombay)			
1. Editor	1,750 805 1,100 3,655	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	1,250 612 .. 1,812	500 125		
		50 1,250		
		50 675		
	TIMES OF INDIA "A" CLASS			
	(Delhi)			
1. Editor	1,500 765 2,830	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	725 333/8 .. 1,058/8	500 125		
		50 1,250		
		50 675		
	INDIAN EXPRESS "A" CLASS			
	(Bombay)			
1. Editor	1,000 .. 300 1,300	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	550 .. .. 550	500 125		
		50 1,250	126	22.7%
		50 675		
	INDIAN EXPRESS "A" CLASS			
	(Madras)			
1. Editor	1,000 .. .. 1,000	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	500 .. .. 500	500 125		
		50 1,250	250	25%
		50 675	175	35%
	INDIAN EXPRESS "A" CLASS			
	(Delhi)			
1. Editor	1,200 .. 300 1,500	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	700 .. .. 700	500 125		
		50 1,250	250	25%
		50 675		
	BOMBAY CHRONICLE & BOMBAY SENTINEL "A" CLASS			
1. Editor	800 40 100 940	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	500 40 .. 540	500 125		
		50 1,250	310	3.3%
		50 675	135	25%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2			3	4	5
	HITAVADA "C" CLASS (Nagpur)					
1. Editor	450	25	30 505	87	20	457
	NAGPUR TIMES "D" CLASS (Nagpur)					
1. Editor	400	..	400	60	20	280
2. News Editor	325	..	325	60	20	280
	THE MAIL "A" CLASS (Madras)					
1. Editor	1,950	..	250 2,200	200	50	1,250
2. News Editor	550	55	150 755	125	50	675
	THE HINDU "A" CLASS (Madras)					
1. Editor	4,000	..	4,000	200	50	1,250
2. News Editor	600	60	660	125	50	675
	DECCAN HERALD "B" CLASS (Bangalore)					
1. Editor	1,500	..	315 1,815	125	20	645
2. News Editor	245	94	15 354	87	20	457
	HINDUSTAN TIMES "A" CLASS (New Delhi)					
1. Editor	2,000	..	2,000	200	50	1,250
	plus 10% commission on profit					
2. News Editor	1,100	..	150 1,250	125	50	675

2.2%

29%



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
	TRIBUNE "B" CLASS (Ambala)			
1. Editor	2,000 250	500		
2. News Editor	1,200 150 120 1,470	125 20 87 20		645 457
	NATIONAL HERALD "B" CLASS (Lucknow)			
1. Editor	1,000 ..	500		
2. News Editor	700 ..	125 87 30 30		655 467
	PIONEER "B" CLASS (Lucknow)			
1. Editor	1,700 ..	500		
2. News Editor	375 .. 20 20 395	125 87 30 30	172	43.3%
	LEADER "B" CLASS (Allahabad)			
1. Editor	900 ..	500		
2. News Editor	440 30 ..	125 87 20 20		645 457
	HINDUSTAN STANDARD "A" CLASS (Calcutta & Delhi)			
1. Editor	560 112 250 922	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	520 104 .. 624	500 125 50 50	328 51	35.5% 8.1%
	STATESMAN "A" CLASS (Calcutta)			
1. Editor	3,000 600	1,000 200		
2. News Editor	940 353 .. 1,293	500 125 50 50		1,250 675



Statement No. 5—(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1. News Editor ..	STATESMAN "A" CLASS (New Delhi) 1,490 659 2,774 500 125 50 675			
1. Editor ..	AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta) 961 .. 961 1,000 200 50 1,250			
2. News Editor ..	.. .. 989 500 125 50 675			
1. Editor ..	INDIAN NATION "B" CLASS (Patna) 775 .. 300 1,075 500 125 30 655			
1. Editor ..	SEARCHLIGHT "C" CLASS (Patna) 1,150 .. 1,150 350 87 30 467			
2. News Editor ..	.. .. 500 100 600 225 56 30 311			
1. Editor ..	EASTERN TIMES "D" CLASS (Cuttack) 280 .. 280 200 60 20 280			
2. News Editor ..	.. .. 200 200 60 20 280			
1. Editor ..	ASSAM TRIBUNE "C" CLASS (Gauhati) 950 .. 950 350 87 20 457			
1. Editor ..	FREE PRESS JOURNAL & FREE PRESS BULLETIN "A" CLASS (Bombay) 1,750 .. 1,750 1,000 200 50 1,250			
1. Editor ..	.. .. 1,750 1,000 200 50 1,250			



1	2	3	4	5
1. Editor	350	DAILY NEWS "E" CLASS (Secunderabad)		
2. News Editor	200	22 25 397 150 20 215 22 .. 222 150 20 215		
1. Editor	450	PRADEEP "C" CLASS (Patna)		
	..	.. .. 450 350 30 467	17	3.7%



## Statement No. 6.

## SCALES OF PAY NOW OBTAINING FOR NEWS-EDITOR AND SUB-EDITOR IN SOME DAILIES

Wage Board Scales "A" Class: (1) News Editor 500-40-820-50-920  
 (2) Sub-Editor 175-20-415-525-42½-600  
 "B" Class: (1) News Editor 350-20-510-30-570  
 (2) Sub-Editor 150-12½-300-20-420

Name of Newspaper	News Editor	Sub-Editor
1. Navbharat Times (A)	240-20-360	(i) 200-15-320 (ii) 140-12-260
2. Dinamani (A)	300-15-450	(i) 300-15-450 (ii) 150-12½-300-15-450 (iii) 150-12½-300 (i) 150-12½-300
3. Andhra Prabha (A)	340-20-500	(i) 300-30-510-EB-30-660
4. Free Press Journal &	..	(ii) 125-25-300-EB25-450
5. Free Press Bulletin (A)	300-30-510-EB-30-660	(i) 300-30-510-EB30-660 (ii) 125-25-300-EB-25-350 (i) 300-30-510-EB-30-660 (ii) 125-25-300-EB-25-350
6. Navshakti (A)	300-30-510-EB-30-660	(i) 200-20-400 (ii) 150-15-325 (iii) 140-10-150-15-250
7. Janshakti (A)	200-20-400	(i) 200-25 x 10-450 (ii) 150-20 x 10-350 (iii) 100-15 x 10-250
8. Hindustan (A)	300-30 x 10-600	(i) 90-5-200 (ii) 55-4-150 (iii) 75-4-150
9. Ananda Bazar Patrika (A)	90-5-225	
10. Mathrubhumi (B)		

RA 052, SOC-A



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Statement No. 7  
**SCALES OF PAY, ETC. UNDER CONSIDERATION**

Class of Papers	Group of employees	Scales proposed by Journalists' Representatives			Scales, etc. proposed by Shri A.R. Bhat			Scales, etc. proposed by Sarvaswari G. Narasimhan & K.M. Cherian			Scales proposed for consideration		
		Basic pay	D.A.	Scale	Basic pay	D.A.	Scales	Basic pay	D.A.	Scale	Basic pay	D.A.	Scale
E	IV	100	34	100-5-140-6-200	35	30	No Scales	35	30	No Scales	100	30	No Scales
	III	100	34	100-5-140-6-200	50	30	No Scales	50	30	No Scales	100	30	No Scales
	II	150	51	150-15-300	60	30	No Scales	60	30	No Scales	150	45	No Scales
	I	150	51	150-15-300	90	30	No Scales	90	30	No Scales	150	45	No Scales
D	IV	100	34	100-5-140-6-200	40	30	40-2-60-EB-3-90	40	30	No Scales	100	30	100-5-165 (13 years) 7-200 (5 years).
	III	125	42/8	125-12½-255-15-375	55	30	55-2½-80-EB-4-120	55	30	No Scales	125	37/8	125-7½-215 (12 years) EB-15-305 (6 years)
	II	—200	68	200-25-400-50-600	65	30	65-3-95-EB-5-145	65	30	No Scales	200	60	200-20-400 (10 years)
	I				100	30	100-4-140-EB-6-200	100	30	No Scales			
C	IV	100	34	100-5-140-6-200	45	30	45-2½-70-EB-3½-105	45	30	No Scales	100	30	(As in D-IV above)
	III	150	51	150-15-330-20-450	60	30	60-3-90-EB-4-120	60	30	No Scales	125	37/8	125-10-245 (12 years) -EB-15-320 (5 years) -25-345 (1 year)
	II	300	98	300-30-540-55-650	75	30	75-4-115-EB-6-175	75	30	No Scales	250	62/8	250-25-425 (7 years) EB-30-515 (3 years)
	I	500	158	500-45-860-70-1,000	110	32/8	110-7½-185-EB-10-285	110	32,8	No Scales	400	100	400-30-610 (7 years) 40-730 (3 years)
B	IV	115	39	115-12½-315-15-345	55	30	55-3-85-EB-4-125	55	30	No Scales	100	30	(As in D-IV above)
	III	175	59/8	175-20-415-25-565	100	30	100-6-160-EB-8-240	100	30	No Scales	150	45	150-15-330 (12 years) -EB-40-630 (4 years)



Statement No. 7—(Contd.)

1	2	3			4			5			6		
		375	120/8	375-35-655-60-775	175	47/8	175-8-225-P-B-10-355	175	47/8	No Scales	350	87/8	350-25-550 (8 years)-EB-40-630 (2 years)
	II												
	I	750	220	750-75-1,500	250	60	250-10-350-EB-12½-475	250	60	No Scales	600	120	600-35-880 (8 years)-40-960 (2 years)
A	IV	125	42/8	125-12½-255-15-375			Not suggested				125	37/8	125-7½-215 (12 years)-EB-10-275 (6 yrs.)
	III	200	68	200-20-400-25-600							175	52/8	175-20-415 (12 years)-EB-25-515 (4 years)
	II	500	158	500-40-820-90-1,000							500	25	500-40-820 (8 years)-EB-50-920 (2 years)
	I	1,000	283	1,000-75-1,600-100-1,800							1,000	200	1,000-50-1,300 (6 years)-75-1,600 (4 years)

Entered in Database  
Signature with Date

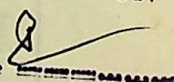
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*Printed by National Printing Works,  
10 Daryaganj, Delhi (India).*